

MICHIGAN history



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Michigan Journal, 1836, John M. Gordon

Edited by

Douglas H. Gordon and George S. May

[Continued from the Issue of March, 1959.]

Friday Sep: 30th. Dunkirk 45 miles from Buffalo 5 P. M. Rose at 7, and having dispatched some letters, ran around town to look at the improvements, some of which are of a fine order. The city however consists chiefly of a main street several miles long, running from the mouth of the Erie Canal to the River or Creek¹⁰⁴ which forms its Harbour. This street is well built up with large stores & warehouses & is not unlike Broadway in bustle & shew of business. After breakfast Clem and I ascended the top of the Hotel for the view of the surrounding country & Lake. It was very fine. At 9. we proceeded in the omnibus to the Boat which presented a more lively scene. It was already crowded with passengers & luggage and hundreds were arriving each moment from all quarters and by every mode of conveyance. The mass of the passengers were settlers and were made up of every variety of character, the hale, the halt, the blind, the young & old, from the infant of a month to the decrepid octegenarian. How strong the spirit of Emigration which supports the aged and infirm through a long & difficult journey by land and water, terminating in a wilderness! It seems to overcome the attraction which binds men in society and scatters its members, as the loss of gravitation would dissipate matter. For two hours the crowd continued to pour down in every description of vehicle loaded with all their earthly goods & chattels & families—boxes, trunks, dogs, spinning wheels, ploughs, tubs, stoves, chairs, beds, cooking utensils, fowls, horses, cattle, &c &c hurrying, swearing, tumbling bales & boxes, horses starting, hands & toes mashed, &c &c. (one man was killed by the fall of a box

¹⁰⁴Main Street, running north from Buffalo Creek, was for many years virtually all there was to Buffalo. Writers' Program of the Works Projects Administration of New York, *New York: A Guide to the Empire State*, 207 (New York, 1940).

& another badly wounded.) On the Deck was stationed an excellent band of music playing all the while lively airs, to which the Emigrants kept time in their motions as they came aboard, and the whole scene had somewhat the air & spirit of a caravan of wild Animals, so that in the person of one emigrant you might readily imagine the stately camel, in another the solemn Elephant, the fox, the monkey or the Bear. The great body of them, I should judge, were true blooded Yankeys & second handed ones from N. York, who having cleared up one state are schooled to subdue the forests of Michigan.¹⁰⁵ At length, all having embarked we left the wharf, winding our way at first through the creek which was lined with Boats loaded with passengers & their moveables, with several thousand persons on the wharf following us with their eyes, the Band playing our national air, and in about half an hour were clear out into the Lake. There were about 600 passengers aboard counting children, all of whom, from the roughness of the water (it had been blowing fresh for several days) were soon as wretched as sea sickness & home sickness could make them. The Deck was in a condition too revolting and I was compelled to keep below though (for the first time in my life) very much nauseated myself. Clem was very sick & could not take his dinner. I took mine merely as a stomachic, but quickly contributed it to feed the fishes. The Michigan is a fine Boat with state rooms on Deck & a large & well furnished cabin from which deck passengers are strictly excluded. George Lewis,¹⁰⁶ an old college acquaintance, is on Board, bound to Cleveland, Ohio. He informs me that T.

¹⁰⁵There is need for a detailed study of the origins of Michigan's early population. Among existing works that touch on the New England or Yankee element may be mentioned the following: Lois Kimball Mathews, *The Expansion of New England: The Spread of New England Settlement and Institutions to the Mississippi River, 1620-1865*, 221-36 (Boston and New York, 1909); Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan*; Arthur Pound, "Michigan, New York's Daughter State," in *New York History*, 23:283-97 (July, 1942); and Frank Woodford, *Yankees in Wonderland* (Detroit, 1951).

¹⁰⁶George Richards Lewis (d. 1853), a graduate of Yale in 1829. Originally from New London, Connecticut, Lewis does not appear to have settled permanently in Cleveland. *Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, 1701-1892*, 44 (New Haven, 1892); and Donna L. Root, Cleveland Public Library, to George S. May, April 10, 1959.

Treadwell¹⁰⁷ and Kissam¹⁰⁸ (two other college acquaintances) are living & doing business in Buffalo as Brokers, having already amassed a considerable fortune. The population of B. is about 8000. We have put into this port for wood.

Saturday Octr. 1st Near Ashtabula 12 o'clock. We lay at Dunkirk last night until the moon rose. As our good fortune had it, some passengers who had engaged good berths did not come aboard & Clem & I being the first names on the list of those who got none, became entitled to the derelict as matter of right, so that we have now every comfort for a long voyage. This morning we have amused ourselves with a game of whist in one end of the cabin, while a gaming table is spread at the other.

The wind is from the south this morning which gives smooth water to the Boat and repose to the agitation of our stomachs. Every face is now clothed with smiles. The children are in full glee, the men in little circles, smoking their pipes and discussing their new Homes and the women mending old hose & suckling their infants. How close the connexion between the Human stomach and Human happiness! I have been reading today, Combes Physiology which Clem brought along with him, a delightfull & instructive Book.¹⁰⁹ We make slow progress. At Connaught, where we stopt early this morning for wood, some of the deckers went ashore to wash their clothes and deliberately hung them out to dry! I took advantage of the delay to wander a mile along the shore to an orchard, which, however, contained no fruit. The lake pebble is beautifully white & round. Thus far we have seen many pretty situations along the Lake and the soil appears to be highly fertile. The Lands are all taken up some time since and would now sell for \$20 to \$50 per acre. The number of Good Harbours on Lake Erie is very small &

¹⁰⁷Timothy Treadwell, originally from Brooklyn, who was a member of the class of 1830 at Yale.

¹⁰⁸Philip Platt Kissam, a graduate of Yale in 1829, who died at Jamaica, New York, in 1891. *Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale College*, 4th series, 12.

¹⁰⁹Between 1834 and 1841, some 17,000 copies of *Principles of Physiology* by the Scottish physician, Andrew Combe (1797-1847), were sold in Great Britain and the United States. S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors*, 1:416 (Philadelphia, 1872).

the best require to be piered out, as it is termed [,] with long wharves running far enough to break the force of the surf & prevent the deposit of sand. As the commerce of these seas increase, these harbours must become immensely valuable, as they occur at long intervals and the navigation is very dangerous for steam Boats. Rocks extend several miles from the shore & the Northern Coast is I believe, of still more difficult navigation. Hence, those who have had the good fortune to locate these ports of entry have laid the foundation of most princely estates. The mate of this boat¹¹⁰ informs [me] that the number of persons daily leaving Buffalo for the West in all kinds of vessels may be safely estimated at about 2000.¹¹¹ Each passenger pays for the deck \$3 and on luggage 50 cts. for the bulk of a barrel. His freight to day is about \$2.500. The Steam Boat stocks are very productive. I passed old Mr. W.¹¹² near Buffalo in the stage but did not see him. He was last from Mackinaw, where were assembled a large body [of] Ottawas to receive their pension & the price of their Lands, which extinguishes the Indian title in Michg.¹¹³ Had we been a little sooner, we might have witnessed the interesting spectacle, as a Boat ran up to the straits on the occasion.

¹¹⁰The editors have been unable to discover the name of the *Michigan's* mate.

¹¹¹15,000 persons left Buffalo in 24 hours, for Detroit about the close of navigation. (vide newspapers.) (Note by J. M. G. on blank page opposite page 104 in his journal.) Nearly 200,000 persons sailed from Buffalo for the west in 1836, according to the estimate cited by John T. Blois. Deck fare from Buffalo to Detroit was \$3, Blois reported, while cabin fare was \$8. John T. Blois, *Gazetteer of the State of Michigan*, 415 (Detroit and New York, 1838).

¹¹²James Wadsworth. (See footnote 34 above.)

¹¹³The Treaty of Washington between the Chippewa and Ottawa Indians and the federal government, signed March 28, 1836, resulted in the cession of all remaining Indian lands in the lower peninsula and in the eastern half of Upper Michigan, with the exception of minor reservations. However, Indian title in most of the western part of the Upper Peninsula was not extinguished until the Treaty of La Pointe of 1842. Payments to the Indians under the Washington Treaty were made at Mackinac Island on September 28, 1836. "So large an assemblage of red and white men probably never assembled here before," Henry R. Schoolcraft declared. Charles C. Royce, comp., *Indian Land Cessions in the United States*, in Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report*, 2:755-59, 760-61, 776-79 (Washington, 1899); and Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontier; With Brief Notices of Passing Events, Facts, and Opinions*, A. D. 1812 to A. D. 1842, 543 (Philadelphia, 1851).

8 o'clock P.M. Cleaveland [.]¹¹⁴ We have just got into this port. It is dark & cloudy. Clem & I started to walk up town but were turned back by the rain. The town appears from the Boat to be situated on the Ohio Canal, which finds its issue here, and along the side of a hill. Here there is a light house. We leave as soon as the moon is up and expect to awake in the morning at Detroit. There are indications, however, of wind and rain. Some of the Emigrants are landing here. We are getting on most tediously & the cabin atmosphere is becoming very irrespirable. Having nothing better to do I will make up a game of whist and then turn in with the hope of a bright turn out tomorrow at our port of destination. Mailed two letters here.

Sunday Octr: 2nd 3. P.M. Still wind bound in this port, which was a very mortifying discovery this morning when we had hoped to be in Detroit. The wind rose early last night and has continued to blow strong to this hour. It is from the North. Should it lull about sun down we shall venture out. I took a run around town before breakfast. It appears to be very thriving & has a beautiful plain to extend itself on. The Lake appears to be encroaching on the East side of the town where the Bank is falling in large masses, & if not arrested will soon be in on the Suburbs. The morning was wet and I was very happy to exchange the cabin of our Boat for the comparatively pure atmosphere of a bar Room, at one of the Taverns, redolent of segars & tobacco spittle & resounding with the din of clamorous small beer politicians. How universal & absorbing the topic of Politicks! It seems to be the only subject in common with Americans and gives a cast to their National Character. The population of Cleaveland is about 8000. But it will never, I think for various reasons, rival or retard the growth of, Buffalo.¹¹⁵ The Inhabitants appear to be all Yankeys, as does every one I meet in this quarter of the Union. In this place I heard of several college acquaintances settled here, but it being Sunday I could not find them out. To day I have conversed with many of the

¹¹⁴Founded by General Moses Cleaveland in 1796, Cleaveland was frequently spelled with the extra "a" during the city's early history. William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: The Making of a City*, 32 (Cleveland, 1950).

¹¹⁵Cleveland's population in 1840 was 6,071. During the decade of the 1870's its population caught and passed that of Buffalo, the 1880 census showing Cleveland with 160,146 residents and Buffalo with 155,134.

passengers, who appear to be conversant with the country, on the subject of Land speculations in Michigan and there is but one opinion of their safety & certainty of a large profit. J. Wadsworth offered to borrow money of me to be invested in Public Lands, and to secure me 6 pr. ct. & $\frac{1}{2}$ the profits. His investments in Mich. he sold out within a year at 100 pr. ct. advance to actual settlers. They embraced some 11000 acres and lay partly in Van Buren County near a little (Map) Town called Fayette on the Paw paw river, where Land is still to be had.¹¹⁶ He tells me that there are still thousands of acres to be had in N. York at 12½ cts. per acre, and that they are not worth it to pay taxes. The soil in Mich. is of an excellent quality and those who go first into the field obtain lands at \$1.25 cts. equal in quality to such as would sell for \$75 in his vicinity. There is an immense body of Public Lands in Market, but in no part of the Globe is a large proportion of its surface well adapted to agriculture & therefore a minimum price must embrace large tracts of great disparity in value.

6 P.M. Still no prospect of proceeding on our voyage. Were our Captain¹¹⁷ possessed of the wisdom of Ulysses he would collect this rude boreas and bind him up in a leathern Bag. During the afternoon Lewis & myself crossed the small river in a Boat and rambled a mile or two in a circle which took us through that part of the town which lies to the N. W. or rather new town, for it has a separate corporate constitution and has been built up by a company who wish to keep the City on their own flat grounds &

¹¹⁶Lafayette was the name of a village and township in Van Buren County. Blois, *Gazetteer of the State of Michigan*, 308; and [Franklin Ellis], *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties, Michigan, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*, 502 (Philadelphia, 1880). A check of the land entries in Van Buren County reveals that James S. Wadsworth entered on May 3, 1836, a total of 5,164.09 acres of land in the county, all of it located in Townships 3 and 4 South, Range 13 West. These are the two southeastern townships in Van Buren County. Paw Paw is just west of Township 3 South, Range 13 West, where Wadsworth purchased 3,266.34 acres. Wadsworth's purchases in Township 4 South, Range 13 West, included large parts of the present town of Lawton. Tract Book for Van Buren County.

¹¹⁷Archibald Allen was the captain of the *Michigan* in 1836, according to an advertisement in the *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, August 9, 1836. The editors are indebted to Mr. Garnett McCoy of the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, for this information.

prevent it ascending to the plain.¹¹⁸ They have expended large sums with a doubtful success, but have had their account in the sale of lots, some of which, on the water, are worth several hundred Dollars per foote. Lewis shewed me a small lot which he was advised to buy last year, but refused. It has sold for double the price since & would have realized him a large sum.

Monday Octr. 3rd 11 o. c. A. M. near Put-in-Bay[.] We left Cleveland last night at 8 oclock, but the wind suddenly rising after we got out, the Captain put back in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour; about 11 oclock we issued forth again and are under way with calm weather & the hope of sleeping in Detroit to night. From 9 to 10 oclock we stopt at Sandusky on a river of that name to take in wood, which took us 20 miles out of our course. I took advantage of the detention to survey the town. It is situated on a high and extensive plain and appears to be very thriving. It once expected to become by means of the scioto canal what Cleveland is destined to be.¹¹⁹ There are some large and well finished buildings going up. Its site was taken up 20 years since, as I was informed by a citizen, by two persons one of whom, now living in Connecticut, began life as a hat pedlar in the south & has realized a princely fortune by the sale of lots.¹²⁰ On the wharf I bought a hat full of Hazlenuts and collected all the little boys & girls on the upper deck for a scramble. They were as fine and healthy a looking race as I ever saw, the germs of men of "mighty thews & bold emprise" fit to conquer the forest or the enemies of their country when occasion need, and having myself the possibility of a future Landed estate

¹¹⁸The "new town" is Ohio City, a separate community in 1836 on the west bank of the Cuyahoga River opposite Cleveland. The rivalry between the two towns was intense. An ambitious development program mapped out by Ohio City real estate promoters was wrecked by the Panic of 1837. The city was annexed to Cleveland in 1854. Rose, *Cleveland*, 145, 152, 266; and Donna L. Root to George S. May, April 10, 1959.

¹¹⁹The Scioto Canal, with Sandusky as its Lake Erie terminus, was one of several north-south routes proposed in the 1820's when Ohio was planning its canal system. The state canal commission eliminated the route because of an inadequate water supply, ruling, instead, in favor of the Ohio Canal route to the east which connected the Ohio River with Cleveland. Randolph C. Downes, *History of Lake Shore Ohio*, 1:104-10 (New York, 1952).

¹²⁰Although a trading post had been located at the site of Sandusky since the early days of white penetration of the area, it was not until 1817 that Zalmon Wildman of Danbury, Connecticut, and Isaac Mills of New Haven, bought land and laid out a town. Harlan Hatcher, *The Western Reserve: The Story of New Connecticut in Ohio*, 213 (Indianapolis, 1949).

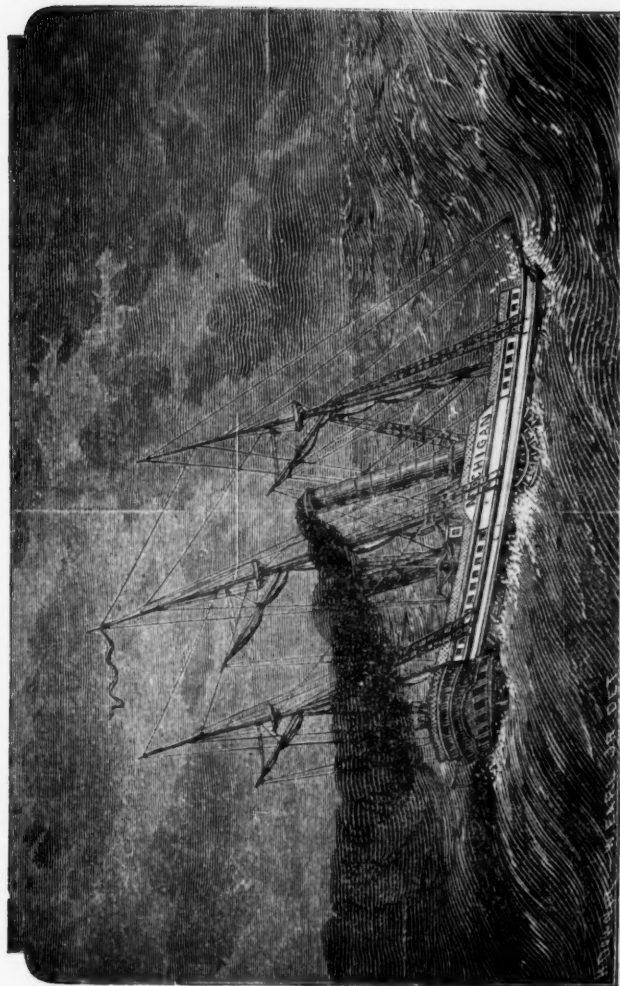
in the west, I examined their little frames not only with the enthusiasm of an American but with the interest of a grazier inspecting the cattle that are to stock his farm. At this moment we are passing put-in-Bay, the scene of Perry's brilliant victory.¹²¹ None of our naval captains has yet been able to say "Iam exegi monumentum perrennius aere".¹²² While the passengers are going on deck to gaze vacantly at the spot which once bore on its surface the weight of navies and holds in its caverns the implements of death and the bones of the slaughtered, I take advantage of a clear cabin to write up my journal. Dr. Johnson says "Far from me and my friends be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us, indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery or virtue. That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plains of Marathon or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Ionia."¹²³ In conformity to which noble sentiments I felt as patriotic, as a stomach much moved by nausea, permits.

3 oclock P.M. We are sailing up Detroit river, the banks of which are level and appear to be very fertile. On the Canada side every thing looks d...d french, pointed roofs to their farm houses, small farms running back from the water in narrow slips which presents the appearance of a long villiage. Near the River are many fine orchards of apples, pear & cherry trees, which I am informed produce fine fruit. The whole prospect is very picturesque and agreeable and is heightened by looking back upon the rough sea we have been tossed upon for 3 days and nights. The emigrants are in fine spirits & the children in full glee. I talked with many of them during our voyage and have ascertained their birth places and destination. Most of them are bound for the interior of Michigan. Some have already obtained Land, others are still to locate. All are bouyant with hope and confident of laying the foundation

¹²¹A reference to the naval victory of Oliver Hazard Perry over the British on September 10, 1813.

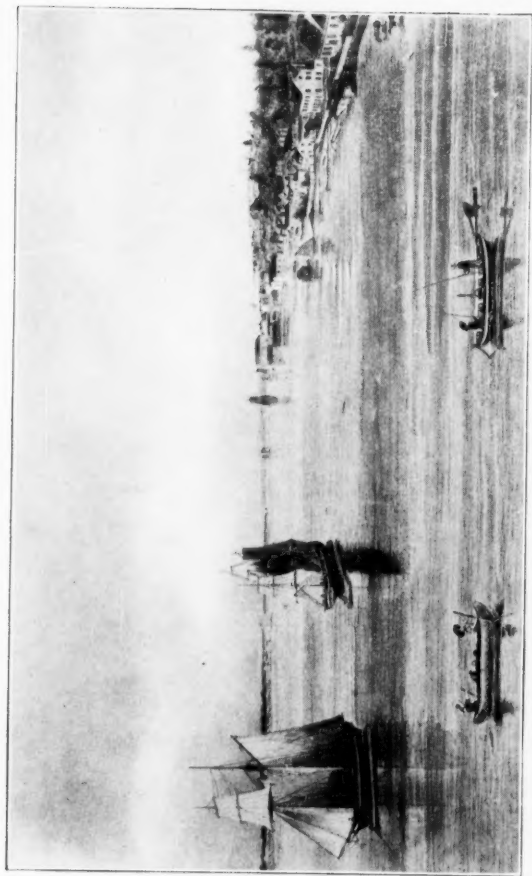
¹²²An aproximate quotation from Horace, *Odes*, III, 30, 1. ("My work is done, the memorial more enduring than brass.")

¹²³A quotation from Johnson's *A Journey to the Hebrides*. See Samuel Johnson, *Works*, 9:145-46 (Oxford, 1825). Dr. Johnson's opinions on the subject of patriotism are better known through his widely-quoted remark, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." George Birkbeck Hill, ed., *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 2:398-99 (New York, [1921]).



From Nowlin's Bark-Covered House

THE STEAMER MICHIGAN



DETROIT IN 1837

of fortunes for their children. They tell me that success in their purchases is certain, for they are getting better Land with a better market @ \$1.25 than they sold at home for \$25. I have yet seen no one who dissents from the common opinion that Good Land @ \$1.25 is entirely safe & certain of a large profit in a few years.

Detroit Monday 12 at night Octr: 3rd: Arriving here at 6 P.M. we put our trunks into a cart and rode up in it to the exchange tavern,¹²⁴ which being full to overflowing we drove on to the American where with much difficulty we obtained a room in an adjoining shed.¹²⁵ Having purified ourselves I sent my letter to Major Biddle, who lives in the next house,¹²⁶ and waited on

¹²⁴The Michigan Exchange Hotel was located at the southeast corner of Jefferson Avenue and Shelby Street. It was opened on June 27, 1835, by E. A. Wales. George B. Catlin, *The Story of Detroit*, 345-46 (Detroit, 1923).

¹²⁵The American Hotel was established as a hotel in 1835 by John Griswold, the original building having been erected in 1807 by Governor William Hull. It was located on Jefferson Avenue, east of Randolph Street. Remodeled and renamed Wales' Hotel in 1846, it burned in 1848. Harriet Martineau, who stayed at the American in June, 1836, reported that "the place was so full, and the accommodations of Detroit are so insufficient for the influx of people who are betaking themselves thither, that strangers must patiently put up with much delay and inconvenience till new houses . . . are opened." Mrs. Anne Jameson and Captain Frederick Marryat, two other famous English literary travelers, stopped at the American in 1837 and 1838, respectively, and former president Martin Van Buren was feted here by Detroit citizens in 1842. J. C. Holmes, "The American Hotel, Detroit," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 1:431-32 (Lansing, 1877); Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, 1:480-81; Catlin, *Story of Detroit*, 306, 340, 397; and Martineau, *Society in America*, 1:312.

¹²⁶The American Hotel was at 192 Jefferson Avenue, and Biddle's residence was at 204 Jefferson. Major John Biddle (1792-1859) was one of Detroit's most distinguished citizens. The son of Charles Biddle of Philadelphia, he was the younger brother of President Jackson's archfoe, Nicholas Biddle, and was related to Gordon's wife and to Gordon's companion, Clement Biddle. Major Biddle served under Winfield Scott in the War of 1812, and after the war was stationed at Detroit. Resigning his commission, he returned to the East, married, and then settled in Detroit in 1819. He was appointed register of the Detroit Land Office in 1823 and held this coveted post until 1837. He was mayor of Detroit in 1827 and 1828, territorial delegate to Congress, 1829-31, president of the state Constitutional Convention of 1835, and speaker of the state House of Representatives in 1841. He was an unsuccessful candidate of the Whigs for governor in 1835 and for United States Senator and lieutenant governor at other times. He was equally prominent in business affairs, his most important position being president of the corporation that eventually became the Michigan Central Railroad. Julius P. Bolivar MacCabe, *Directory of the City of Detroit, with Its Environs, and Register of Michigan, for the Year 1837*, 43, 45 (Detroit, 1837); and Silas Farmer, *History of Detroit and Wayne County and Early Michigan: A Chronological Cyclopedic of the Past and Present*, 2:1032-33 (New York, 1890).

us immediately and carried us home to meet a small whist party, consisting of some dozen military & legal gentlemen. I met there, Dwight of Springfield Mass.¹²⁷ (an old college acquaintance) who stated to me that he had come out to Mich. to operate in Lands & had realized large profits on his investments. I played whist with D. [,] a young man named Deacon who lives at St. Joseph¹²⁸ and another gentleman until 11 o'clock, collecting from their conversation all the information they could give me about the country. Deacon appears to be very familiar with the Kalamazo District, whither he repairs in a few days and has offered us the pleasure of his company if we are disposed to direct our course that way first. He is the son of a Captain of the U. S. N. and well acquainted

¹²⁷Probably William Courtland Dwight (1805-1851), a graduate of Yale in 1826, who practiced law at Springfield, Massachusetts, for a number of years before going to St. Mary's Parish, Franklin, Louisiana. Benjamin W. Dwight, *The History of the Descendants of John Dwight, of Dedham, Mass.*, 1:459 (New York, 1874).

¹²⁸Edward Preble Deacon. Unfortunately many of the basic facts concerning the life of Deacon, who figures so prominently in the remainder of Gordon's journal, remain unknown. His father was Captain David Deacon of the United States Navy, who died in 1840. Edward in 1832 came to St. Joseph, Michigan, where he was one of the earliest settlers. At the time he must have been no more than twenty years old. In association with William McKaleb he built the first sawmill in St. Joseph. Between 1832 and 1837 he bought 6,377.27 acres of government land in Berrien County, plus lesser amounts elsewhere in southern Michigan. He was elected St. Joseph's treasurer at the first village election in May, 1834. In May, 1836, he and two other St. Joseph residents platted the village of Liverpool at the mouth of the Grand Marais in Berrien County. It always remained a "paper city," but in 1837 Deacon is found being appointed commissioner of the state road that was to run from Liverpool to Berrien. In 1838 he took a trip to Europe, and his offer to convey to the American Minister in London, free of charge, the United States ratification of the treaty with Greece, was accepted by the State Department. In 1839 Adolphus G. Deacon, apparently a younger brother of Edward's, was reported drowned at the famed Michigan boom town of Port Sheldon. The 1840 census lists Deacon as a resident of St. Joseph Township, but sometime before the next census he apparently left. One county history declares that he went to Boston, where he died, at a date not given. [Ellis], *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 49, 258, 313, 316, 319; Tract Books for Berrien and Van Buren counties; Admiral R. A. Dierdorff, Annapolis, Maryland, to Douglas H. Gordon, March 31, 1959; Carl L. Lokke, National Archives, Washington, D. C., to George S. May, March 31, 1959; Michigan Works Progress Administration, Vital Records Project, *Vital Records from the Detroit Free Press*, 1:102 (typed copies in the Michigan State Library and the Burton Historical Collection); and microfilm copy in the Michigan State Library of the Federal Census of 1840 and 1850 (population schedules), Berrien County.

with George Chapman.¹²⁰ Capt. Garland of the U. S. Army,¹³⁰ stationed here (a brother of a gentleman in the Va. Legislature) who appears to be very familiar with the country has promised to call on me tomorrow to give me any information I may require. The Society of Detroit to judge from what I saw this evening, must be very good.¹³¹ I like the tone of its manners if I have apprehended it rightly, and I attribute it to the fact that D. has always been a military post. At Major B's I saw a Miss Biddle¹³² a daughter of a gentleman of that name, at Mackinaw, by his full blooded

¹²⁰George William Chapman (1816-1853), a brother of Gordon's wife.

¹³⁰Captain John Garland (d. 1861), who was born in Virginia, was appointed first lieutenant in the 35th Infantry Regiment in 1813. He rose to the rank of major in October, 1836. He subsequently served in other units and during the Mexican War was breveted colonel and then brigadier general for gallant and meritorious conduct. William H. Powell, *List of Officers of the Army of the United States from 1779 to 1900*, 324 (New York, 1900).

¹³¹Harriet Martineau, visiting Detroit some four months earlier, commented that Detroit's society was "very choice." Indeed, she believed, the "most enlightened" part of it was "equal to any which is to be found in the United States," Martineau, *Society in America*, 1:314-15. Not every visitor shared this opinion. See, for example, the views expressed by an English couple, in Floyd Benjamin Streeter, ed., *Journal in America, 1837-1838, by Joshua Toulmin Smith* (Metuchin, N. J., 1925).

¹³²Sophia Biddle (d. 1848) has been the subject of so much romanticizing that it is somewhat difficult to know what is truth and what is fiction in accounts of her life. Her father, Edward Biddle (d. 1859), was related to John and Nicholas Biddle, but was not their brother, as some writers have hastily concluded. Edward came to Mackinac Island after the War of 1812 and was for many years one of the island's leading business and political figures. His wife, Agathe (or Agatha), claimed to be a full-blooded Ottawa Indian when she asked to be paid for services rendered the Ottawas and Chippewas at the conclusion of the Treaty of Washington in 1836. However, there is evidence that she was actually of mixed French and Indian ancestry. The assertion that she was of noble Indian blood, which one frequently reads, is perhaps another of the legends surrounding this family. Sophia, the oldest child, has been the heroine of several romantic tales. She spent much time in Detroit where she was educated and where she stayed with the Major John Biddle family. She became something of a belle of Detroit society. One of her suitors is supposed to have been Lieutenant John C. Pemberton, who was stationed at Detroit in the early 1840's and subsequently rose to fame as the Confederate commander at Vicksburg in 1863. Sophia died of tuberculosis in 1848 and is buried on Mackinac Island. The Biddle House, which was for many years the Biddle family home, is one of the island's oldest surviving structures and has been restored by the Michigan Society of Architects. The most reliable published account of the Edward Biddle family is in Marion M. Davis, "Three Islands," in *Michigan History*, 12:537-48 (July, 1928). Important unpublished material relating to the Biddle family was uncovered in 1955 as a result of a search started by Mr. Victor F. Lemmer of Ironwood. A copy of Mr. Lemmer's report on this research is in the Michigan Historical Commission Archives.

Indian wife, who is a Chippeway of noble birth and disdains to profane her lips with the language of white men. She is an interesting girl of about 16 and is receiving a good education. Her expression is very aboriginal and civilization will probably make it vulgar. Her father is a fur trader which class of persons often intermarry with the tribes from motives of merchandize & because white women are not at hand nor suited to their style line.

Tuesday Octr 4th. Breakfasted this morning with Major B, with whom I passed several hours in conversation. He has been a Land register at this place for some 16 years. The several L offices of Mich. all deposit their receipts here which under the system of specie payments have to be brought down in ox carts over roads barely passable.¹³³ Drafts on Pha: he thinks can be cashed for me at par. But the difficulty will be in its transportation to the Offices, at which I may take up Land. Maj. B thinks investments at \$1.25 cts. are entirely safe, but does not anticipate as large profits as most persons do. He is of opinion that speculation may retard the growth of Mich. & that the stream of migration may be diverted. But to this it may be conclusively objected, that the Lakes & Erie Canal have a natural monopoly of travel for the N. York & N. England redundant population. If it is diverted it must pour into Ohio, Indianna & Illinois, which are already thickly settled, or into Wisconsin which is farther in a straight line west & much inferior in commercial & agricultural advantages. With regard to speculation, if it keeps large bodies of land out of cultivation, than those which are in market will have a more ready sale. But mere speculators, generally speaking, cannot hold on for any length of time. If they have bought on borrowed capital, then their investments are not permanent. But in truth every actual settler is a speculator to the extent of his means and buys for the purpose of sale as many acres as he can lay hands on. And again if speculation is to retard the growth of the state it is only in those parts where it has been ripe and therefore such as are chiefly occupied by settlers must improve faster. In this view it will be my aim to get into the column of emigration and make my location in its track. The Govt. price of land \$1.25 (which should be considered only as the office

¹³³Beginning on August 15, 1836, specie was required as payment for all lands purchased at United States land offices.

fee) is so much below its intrinsic value and settlers will so readily give the first purchaser a few dollars advance (having sold their lands at home for \$20, \$30, \$50, & \$75) that when the public Domain is exhausted in Mich, that which is in second hands will quickly be consumed by the increasing demand of an increasing population accompanied with a decreasing supply.

A comparative view of the population of the U. S. at different periods will throw light on the enquiry what will be the future value of Lands in Mich.

| | | | |
|------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Pop: of U. S. in 1790. | 1800 | 1810 | 1830 |
| 3.929.326 | 5.306.035 | 7.239.903 | 12.852.858 |

being an increase in the last 20 years of 5.612.955. The popul. may now be safely estimated at 14.500.000 which would shew an increase of 4 pr: ct. per annum = 580.000 each year. This would give to a state of the area of Kentucky (39.000 sqr. miles) nearly as dense a population of whites.¹³⁴ Our annual increase then at its present ratio will supply a new state of the usual size. There is no chance of this ratio diminishing, but on the contrary, as the complex cause of our rapid population is cumulative, there is every reason why the ratio of increase should be progressive, with the improved facilities of communication between the East & West. Let us compare the popl. of the New States.

| | Area sqr. miles | 1790 | 1800 | 1820 | 1830 | Increase 1820 to 1830 | Pop. pr. sqr. mile |
|----------------|-----------------------|--------|---------|---------|---------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| Alabama | 50.000 | ..... | 8.850 | 127.901 | 308.997 | 181.096 | 6 |
| Mississippi | 45.375 | ..... | ..... | 75.448 | 136.806 | 61.358 | 3 |
| Louisiana | 48.000 | ..... | ..... | 153.407 | 215.575 | 62.168 | 4-1/2 |
| Tennessee | 44.720 | 35.691 | 105.620 | 422.813 | 684.822 | 262.009 | 15 |
| Kentucky | 39.015 | 73.677 | 220.959 | 564.318 | 688.844 | 124.527 | 17-1/2 |
| Ohio | 38.850 | 3.000 | 45.000 | 581.434 | 937.679 | 356.245 | 24 |
| Indiana | 34.800 | ..... | 4.875 | 147.178 | 341.582 | 192.404 | 9-3/4 |
| Illinois | 59.130 | ..... | 215 | 55.211 | 157.575 | 102.364 | 2-2/3 |
| Missouri | 60.384 | ..... | ..... | 66.586 | 140.040 | 73.488 | 2-1/3 |
| Michigan | 40.000 | ..... | 551 | 8.896 | 31.260 | 22.364 | 0-3/4 |
| Arkansas | ..... | ..... | ..... | 14.237 | 30.383 | 16.110 | ..... |
| Florida | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 34.723 | ..... | ..... |
| Missouri [sic] | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |

From this table it appears the population of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, & Mich. increased in 10 years up to 1830 from 729.719 to 1.468.096 which is within a very small fraction of 100 per cent[,] i. e. 10 pr:

¹³⁴The meaning of this sentence is not clear. In writing up his journal Gordon may have inadvertently omitted part of his train of thought.

ct per annum. The states of Alab, Miss, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Missouri & Arkansas in the same time increased from 1,424,710 to 2,205,507, which is 22/14th per cent in 10 years[,] i. e. within 3/14th of 100 pr. ct. The population of the two in 1830 was 2,892,806 which is about the population of the U. S. at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. In 20 years preceding 1830 we added about 5,000,000 to our population which was the population of the U. S. in 1800. From 1820 to 1830 the population of the old states, then about 7,200,000, underwent an increase of about 1,600,000 which is nearly 2 pr. ct. per annum shewing a diff. in favr. the new states of 8 pr. ct. per annum. At the Revolution it is estimated there were 100,000,000 of acres of wild Lands in the old states, which having been since absorbed the new states have almost an undivided possession of the field and we may therefore calculate upon their more rapid settlement henceforth. Prior to 1800 but little land had been sold by the U. S. since which date about 65,000,000 acres have been disposed of. Thus within 36 years have 165,000,000 of acres been taken up & in a great measure converted to agriculture, and, in the mean time none heretofore cultivated has been abandoned. As, then, the increase upon a population of about 4,000,000 has absorbed 165,000,000 acres, the same ratio of increase, for the same time (36 years) upon 14,500,000 will absorb about 600,000,000 acres, rising progressively from the beginning to the end of the series; the average amount being about 15,000,000 acres per annum. The official estimate of the quantity of unsold and unappropriated land within the new states & Territories is about 320,871,753 acres. (It probably does not exceed now 300,000,000) and the quantity beyond these limits at 750,000,000 acres. A large portion of the latter is unfit for cultivation.

The surplus population of the free states will always migrate to the free states, and they are the finest race of men the world affords for the settlement and rapid improvement of a new region. They go to the west to plant themselves and their posterity for ever & for this reason the growth of the country they inhabit is progressive, destined to run no race of renovation and decay. The population being free may be multiplied to any degree of condensation. Having vegetated like moss on the bleak rocks of N. E.

they find the climate of Michigan genial to their constitutions and its soil a Delta, and being prepared to make the most of it, in their hands it becomes as productive as the cotton and sugar plantations of the south. The staples products too of the North western states make a better return to the Earth. The southern states having a mixed population, must obey a limit in its density. They work upon the system of killing the Goose which lays the Golden egg. The mass of settlers, regardless of posthumous wealth, strive only to create a fortune for their own enjoyment, and having no tap roote in the soil, are eager to abandon it when the object of their cupidity is attained. They are destined to run the course of the old slave states. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan & Wisconsin are to supply them with food and become the grain growing states of this country. Their geographical position, their soil & population destine them to this end. The population of Michigan in 1834 was 87,263 which is nearly triple the number of 1830. It is now estimated at 150,000 and will doubtless in a few years reach one half a million.¹⁸⁵ Ohio is now well charged with inhabitants containing, at a low estimate 1,200,000, Indiana 500,000 and Illinois say 300,000. Emigration will probably flow in to Michigan until something like a level is found and, as I think, even after that. Because of its great commercial facilities, it being a great Atlantic Western State, combining the advantages of both. It has natural channels of commerce radiating as from a common centre and commanding the Atlantic through N. York, the Canadas, the south-western states through the tributaries of the Mississippi, & being surrounded by navigable Lakes has the advantages of the Mediterranean coasts, add to which it is deeply penetrated by navigable streams from every coast which can be easily connected by canals, and the surface of the country in every direction is so level that rail roads may be constructed with but small cost of graduation. The region North of the Grand River & west of the Saganaw has not been brought into market, not having been yet surveyed. That which lies below these rivers is represented to be, for the most part, of great fertility, well covered with timber, well watered and healthy. The upper half of the peninsula, as far as it is known.

¹⁸⁵Michigan's population reached the half million mark early in the 1850's, the state census of 1854 credited the state with 507,521 inhabitants.

is not favourably described, and, probably, will be slowly settled. Hence a strong cause for the more rapid improvement of the southern half, which likewise being contiguous to Ohio receives a large share of her redundant population, for even that infant state has already become, in its turn—a mint shop of nations. Upon the whole I look forward to the progress of Michigan in the race of improvement to be as clear as the sun in his daily course. Other views might be here suggested but I leave them to be noted down as they are proved and corrected by my own observation; those which have been presented go to shew the tendency of lands in Michigan to attain an equilibrium of price with those of the adjacent states. Improved farms in the western part of N. Y. sell for \$50, 60, 70, to \$100 per acre, wild lands from \$20 to \$50, that is, of a choice quality such as may now be taken up in this state. During the morning I held a conversation with a Mr. Misner,¹³⁶ a land agent here and gathered from him information relative to the country on St. Clair River, in which he is prepared to make locations. My impressions upon the whole are not very favourable of that part of the state, & I shall take care to be well informed before taking any definite steps. Major: B. calls in a few minutes to carry me to see Haskell, land receiver at Saganaw.¹³⁷ This has been a wet day & the mud in the streets from late rains is knee deep.

6 P. M. I saw Haskell. He has come down from Sagana to bring specie for Deposit in Detroit. There is much fine Land he tells me, still to be taken up in his District, whence I can go to the Grand River by sleeping out one night. He thinks well of the sections watered by the Shiawassa, the Cass & the Tittewasse; which were likewise recommended to me by Carroll of Wash-

¹³⁶Probably Mizner. Lansing B. Mizner was appointed a commissioner of the Macomb and Saginaw Railroad which was chartered in 1835. L. B. Mizner was listed as an attorney and counsellor in Detroit in 1837. L. M. Miller, "Early Banks and Bankers of Macomb County," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 5:473 (Lansing, 1884); and MacCabe, *Directory of the City of Detroit*, 65.

¹³⁷Charles C. Hascall (1799-1862) was born in New York, came to Michigan in 1819, and settled in Pontiac. He was a Democratic member of the legislature in the early 1830's. During the "Toledo War" he was a general in the state militia. Hascall was appointed land receiver for the Saginaw district in July, 1836, with offices in Flint. He held this post until 1840. Subsequently he engaged in various business enterprises in Flint. *Michigan Biographies*, 1:379 (Lansing, 1924).

ington.¹³⁸ I prefer a more southern part of the state, though Govern. Cass, is of opinion that Sagana will be the seat of Government as the state is settled. Mr. H. advises me to locate for the county seat in Gratiot, which will soon be designated.¹³⁹ I am still undetermined which Land office to visit first. KeKalamazo¹⁴⁰ is said to have been very much culled. Grand River has been the favourite with speculators and Sagana has not so large a stream of Emigrants setting towards it. To night I shall converse with Deacon and determine, upon the information derived from him, upon the route we shall pursue. Grand River I shall certainly visit. At dinner to day I made the acquaintance of a Dr: Mc V. a young missionary who is established among the Chippeways about 100 miles North of Mackinaw on the Canada side. He is well educated, young, handsome & of an old family in N. York. He has married an indian, the daughter of a chief who acts the interpreter to him in the pulpit and assists him in his translations.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸Perhaps Daniel Carroll of "Duddington" (d. 1849), one of the four large land owners whose property was included in the District of Columbia, which he helped to lay out. Kate Mason Rowland, *The Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1737-1832, With His Correspondence and Public Papers*, 2:441-43 (New York, 1898).

¹³⁹Actually, although Gratiot County was set off in 1831, its county seat was not selected until 1856, one year after the county had been settled sufficiently to warrant its organization. Willard D. Tucker, *Gratiot County, Michigan: Historical, Biographical, Statistical*, 67-71 (Saginaw, 1913).

¹⁴⁰KeKalamazoo was one of the original renderings of the Indian term for the river after which the county and city were named. It was also written as KeKenamazoo and in other ways. The meaning is much disputed, "boiling water" being the one most commonly given. William L. Jenks, "History and Meaning of the County Names of Michigan," in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 38:455-56 (Lansing, 1912).

¹⁴¹Efforts to find a missionary with a last name beginning with the letters "McV" and fitting the description given by Gordon have been unsuccessful. One wonders if Gordon was not somewhat confused and that the person he speaks of might not have been the Reverend William McMurray (1810-1894), who was born in Ireland, was brought to Canada as an infant and was educated in York (Toronto). He received the D.D. and D.C.L. degrees at Trinity College, and was ordained a priest in the Church of England in 1833, the year after he was sent to Sault Ste Marie, Canada, as a missionary to the Chippewa Indians. In 1833 he married Charlotte Johnston, whose mother was the daughter of the Chippewa chief, Wabojee. Charlotte was a sister of Jane Johnston, who married Henry R. Schoolcraft, and she had translated the Rev. Abel Bingham's sermons to his Indian congregations when that missionary first came to Sault Ste Marie. Mrs. Anne Jameson, the English traveler, visited the McMurrays in 1837 and described their home at the Canadian Sault. Dr. McMurray eventually became archdeacon of Niagara. W. Stewart

The *creed*, he tells me, cost him immense trouble in turning it into Chippewaway and he has not yet finished it to suit his mind. I should have supposed the translation of such metaphysical niceties into a barbarous idiom impossible for the want of proper words; it can only be done by an awkward circumlocution. I have been unable to see much of Detroit. Govr. Cass' property is near the wharf at which we landed. That part which lies within town, he has sold for \$300,000. The house, an old crazy frame building, is still standing. The farm cost him \$10,000 (an old french one) He offered it at \$18,000 upon leaving Detroit and it is now worth \$500,000.¹⁴² The population of D. in 1830 was 2222. It is now estimated at 10,000.¹⁴³ The rise of real estate has been immense in & near the City. Major B. bought a square 4 or 5 years since for \$5000 which is now worth \$100,000. I have heard of many other fortunate purchases which I have not time to note down.

9 P. M. Spent the evening at the exchange with Deacon in conversation upon the best route for us to pursue. He is very intelligent & familiar with the Country, in which he has resided since the Black hawk war, and does the business of a general agent for the location of Lands. His charge is 10 pr. ct. or one $\frac{1}{4}$ the profits. There is still, he informs me, much good land to be had in the Kalamazo district, which he prefers to any of the others, on a/c of the lower latitude, the denser population[,] the small portion held by speculators, & the excellence of the soil. He will undertake to guide me through the woods in the selection of a quantity not

Wallace, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Canada*, 4:215 (Toronto, 1936); Mrs. Thomas D. Gilbert, "Memories of the 'Soo,'" in *Michigan Historical Collections*, 30:630 (Lansing, 1906); and Edwin O. Wood, *Historic Mackinac: The Historical, Picturesque and Legendary Features of the Mackinac Country*, 2:344 (New York, 1918).

¹⁴²Cass bought the 500-acre Macomb farm in 1815 for \$12,000, including the house. A decade later he would have sold it for \$18,000 had not friends persuaded him to hold on to the property. Subsequently, he disposed of it piecemeal. In 1836 his business agents in Detroit, Charles Trowbridge and Edmund Brush, sold part of the farm for \$175,000. The panic of 1837 made it difficult for the purchasers to meet their payments, and much of the land reverted to Cass. Eventually, however, he realized about \$750,000 from the sale of his farm, which is now in the heart of Detroit's business section and had an assessed valuation in 1950 of over \$88,000,000. The Cass house, which was said to date from the early 1700's, was demolished in 1882. Woodford, *Lewis Cass*, 115-16, 191, 202, 219.

¹⁴³The state census of 1837 credited Detroit with a population of 8,273.

less than 4000 acres, and inasmuch as he will be a most agreeable companion & I shall be able to obtain much information from him, I shall probably come to terms with him, after ascertaining more about him from Major B. and his other acquaintances. He is the son of a Capt. in our Navy, handsome & about 23 years of Age.

Wednesday Octr 5th. Noon[.] We have determined to go hence to the Kalamazo District with Deacon and shall proceed to morrow or the next day to Bronson, the place of the Land office (often called Kalamazo)¹⁴⁴ on horseback, from which point we diverge into the woods, and shall go west as far as the mouth of the St. Joseph. From the K. district we shall direct our course up to Grand river and down it, if possible, across Lake Michigan into Wisconsin thence Home via the Miss. We have been looking through the stables for horses but can find none as yet to suit us. The road west is so bad at this season that it is desperation to attempt it in the stage or rather, wagon.¹⁴⁵ The passengers walk most of the distance and are repeatedly upset, beside which applications must be made for seats a week a head. Another wet day. I do not feel my zeal for a long ride at all abated.

10½ P. M. Spent the evening at Genrl. Brady's¹⁴⁶ with the party I met at Major B's. I made the acquaintance of Major Whiting¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴Kalamazoo was originally platted in 1831 by Titus Bronson and Stephen H. Richardson as the village of Bronson. Local opposition to this name resulted in an act of the legislature, approved March 2, 1836, which renamed the village Kalamazoo. The federal land office at White Pigeon was removed to Bronson in 1834. [Samuel W. Durant], *History of Kalamazoo County, Michigan, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men and Pioneers*, 211-20 (Philadelphia, 1880).

¹⁴⁵By 1836 stagecoach service in southern Michigan had been established on a fairly large scale with regular schedules maintained by various lines. Many of the coaches were nothing but wagons, however, with no springs to cushion some of the shock of riding over the pioneer trails that passed for roads. The classic account of the problems of the Michigan stagecoach passengers in 1836 is that of Harriet Martineau. Fuller, ed., *Michigan, A Centennial History*, 2:82-83; and Martineau, *Society in America*, 1:317-28.

¹⁴⁶General Hugh Brady (1768-1851), whose career spanned nearly sixty years of frontier military activity. Commissioned in 1792 by George Washington, Brady fought with General Anthony Wayne in the western Indian campaign of 1794, commanded a regiment in the War of 1812, and built Fort Brady at Sault Ste Marie in 1822. In 1828 Brady, now a brigadier general, was placed in command at Detroit, and in 1837 he was given command of the Seventh Military Department with headquarters at Detroit. He was advanced to the rank of major general in 1848. Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, 2:1078.

¹⁴⁷Major Henry Whiting (1788-1851), who came to Detroit in 1816 as

& several other Gentlemen. In the afternoon I called [on] Meredith¹⁴⁸ (a college acquaintance) & Brush,¹⁴⁹ whose sister he married. (Her property like that of every one else has risen greatly in value). I bought a Mackinaw blanket¹⁵⁰ this morning for \$14.

Thursday Octr 6th 2 P.M. I bought a very good looking young Roan this morning for \$92. He is a spirited animal though I fear a little young for hard riding and harder fare. He is a good walker & has a perfectly sound back, an important quality for one's steed in making a journey west. I purchased likewise an india rubber over coat and some other necessities to protect my person

aide to General Alexander Macomb, was stationed at Detroit most of the rest of his life. Whiting rose to the rank of brevet brigadier general during the Mexican War. He found time from his military duties to pursue a notable literary career as both poet and historian. His papers on the early American period of Michigan's history, and the Great Lakes' tides were published in the *Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan* and were studied by Gordon in preparation for his Michigan trip. At this time Whiting also had an interest in a number of business and real estate ventures, including the ill-fated Cass farm development of 1836. William L. Jenks, "Henry Whiting," in *Michigan History*, 16:174-82 (Spring, 1932).

¹⁴⁸George Salmon Meredith (d. 1843), originally of Baltimore, received the A.B. degree from Yale in 1829. In the Detroit city directory for 1837 he was listed as an attorney in the firm of Meredith and Magruder. According to a card on Meredith in the genealogical files of the Burton Historical Collection, he was drowned in a river in Michigan. *Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates of Yale University*, 44; and MacCabe, *Directory of the City of Detroit*, 65.

¹⁴⁹Edmund Brush (1802-1877) was the eldest son of the prominent Detroit official, Elijah Brush. Edmund Brush held various city offices, but as one of Detroit's wealthiest landowners he was occupied most of the time in the management of his real estate. His sister, Archange (more frequently called Samantha), married George Salmon Meredith. Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, 2:1210; and Clarence M. Burton, ed.-in-chief, *The City of Detroit, Michigan, 1701-1922*, 2:1361 (Detroit-Chicago, 1922).

¹⁵⁰This was a type of blanket developed especially for the Indian fur trade which was similar to the Hudson's Bay Company blankets. However, from subsequent remarks it is clear that Gordon purchased a Mackinaw jacket, not a blanket. According to one account, these jackets or coats, which became one of the most popular winter garments in the northern areas of the United States, originated in 1811 when the British commander on St. Joseph Island requisitioned some heavy Indian blankets from the Indian fur trading post and had them made into coats for his men. When the British captured Macinac Island in 1812 the local inhabitants took such a liking to the British soldiers' new coats that they began placing orders for them. The "Mackinaw's" popularity developed rapidly from then on. H. J. L. Wooley, "The Origin of the Mackinaw Coat," in the *Canadian Magazine* (January, 1926). Photostatic copies of this article were kindly furnished by Miss S. A. Hewitson, Librarian of the Hudson's Bay House in Winnipeg.

from the weather.¹⁵¹ An umbrella I discarded. We shall set forth tomorrow if the day prove good. Our route will lead us through Ann Harbour, leaving Ypsilanti on the South. Biddle¹⁵² has furnished himself likewise with a horse & trappings.

10 P.M Spent the evening at Major W's with the same party. Cards are the amusement here and Euker the favourite game. I have not learnt it yet, but must before leaving the state. Our saddle bags are packed and all ready for an early start.

¹⁵¹"Ponies, knapsacks, brandy-bottles, pocket-compasses, blankets, lucifers, great India rubber boots, coats of the same, and caps with immense umbrella capes to them" — these, Mrs. Caroline Kirkland wrote, were standard items acquired by everyone who went on a land-hunting expedition. Mrs. Caroline Matilda Kirkland, *New Home; or Life in the Clearings* (edited and with an introduction by John Nerber), 48 (New York, 1953).

¹⁵²Meaning Clement Biddle.

[To be continued in the September issue.]

Kalamazoo College: 126 years of History

Arnold Mulder

THE LEGEND ON A PLAQUE UNVEILED by the Michigan Historical Commission on the Kalamazoo College campus in connection with that institution's 125th anniversary celebration contains this sentence: "Instruction of college level has been given here longer than at any other Michigan school." The statement is in agreement with the conclusion reached by the late Dr. Charles T. Goodsell and Dr. Willis F. Dunbar in their *Centennial History of Kalamazoo College*, published in 1933: "There is little question that the forbear of Kalamazoo College offered instruction of collegiate grade before the University of Michigan opened, and that this institution has therefore offered such instruction longer than any other school in the state."

The college is now a year older than it was at the anniversary celebration in 1958, and while its look is forward, a backward look may be in order. What has this Michigan institution of higher learning been like during its 126 years of living?

Among other things that crowd upon attention is the fact that Kalamazoo College sponsored and practiced coeducation at a time when women were still barred from most colleges even in the Atlantic seaboard communities. Although it began life in a frontier village that in 1833 had "not more than one hundred people, exclusive of Indians," its first official announcement informed the public that the proposed course of study was "for the accommodation of young ladies and gentlemen."

And although nearly all colleges founded in that era were begun as feeders for specific denominational theological seminaries, the charter specified that the college would be "open to all Christian denominations."

What is now Kalamazoo was then called the Village of Bronson. The college was located there because the community of about a hundred people subscribed what to them was the enormous sum of \$2,500 for land and buildings. Grand Rapids, then still a village, tried to become the home of the college, and so did other

communities, but they were unable to raise the cash that would make the institution possible. The name "Bronson" was soon changed to "Kalamazoo," and that in time became the permanent name of the college. It is supposed to mean, in the language of the Indians, the "boiling pot." The community was located at the bend of the river where the water gave the impression in those days of boiling up.

Earlier the school had been known as the "Michigan and Huron Institute," the name implying that the institution was prepared to serve the educational needs of the people living between Lake Michigan and Lake Huron—an area with a total population at that time of 31,639. A few years later the name was changed to the "Kalamazoo Literary Institute," and somewhat later its present title was adopted.

From 1833, when the college was founded, to 1843 the history of the institution is like the "short and simple annals of the poor." Most of the records for that first decade have been lost and no one really knows very much about who was who and what was what.

In 1843 two educators came to Kalamazoo College from New England whose names have been permanently imprinted upon the college and the community. They were Dr. J.A.B. Stone and Lucinda Hinsdale Stone. Dr. Stone served as president and Mrs. Stone as an inspiring teacher. They remained for twenty years. During those two decades the college developed an atmosphere of liberality that made the term "liberal arts" truly appropriate as applied to its curriculum.

From the time when the Stones left the institution until 1892, the beginning of the so-called modern era, Kalamazoo College had seven administrative heads. During those years it went through a period of great stress, to such a degree that at one time a vote was taken by the board of trustees to close the school for one year. When this became known to the alumni they rushed to the aid of the institution with their dollars and the resolution was rescinded.

In 1892, when the fortunes of the college were at a low ebb, Dr. Arthur Gaylord Slocum was inaugurated as president, and during his administration of nearly twenty years the college emerged out of its stage of frontier educational experiment into an assured position of permanence in the educational life of the state. But

the story of those years is not without marks of great stress and strain. When Dr. Slocum became president, the faculty consisted of five professors and six instructors; the budget amounted to less than \$18,000 a year; and the total endowment was below \$196,000. The library was described as "practically worthless." The enrollment consisted of forty students of college rank and one hundred and twenty-five of preparatory grade. The curriculum, although excellent as classical training, had taken little note of the fact that time marches on.

When President Slocum laid down his burden in 1911, the school had, in the language of the 1911 summer Kalamazoo College *Bulletin*, become "the most strongly endowed educational institution in Michigan." The faculty was greatly strengthened during the Slocum regime, and it was increased in number. The "total amount of safely invested funds of the College," in the language of the same *Bulletin*, was \$450,000. The preparatory department was abolished during this twenty-year period and college work was established comparable to that offered by the University of Chicago. The student body was increased in number. A beginning was made in developing a library adequate for a modern college.

The main concern of the next president, Dr. Herbert Lee Stetson, was that of increasing the inadequate salaries of the professors, raising the scholastic standards of instruction, adding to the number of faculty members, strengthening the financial structure on which the scholastic program depended, and building a curriculum by which to maintain first rank in academic standards.

Dr. Stetson's administration was followed, in 1923, by that of Dr. Alan Hoben, who almost immediately launched out on the most extensive building program in the history of the college up until that time. Moreover, his ideal of "individualized" instruction was aggressively carried forward, and the faculty was improved and enlarged. When Dr. Hoben died, the faculty numbered thirty-five, the assets of the college exceeded two and a half million dollars, and the endowment was nearly two million dollars.

From the time of Dr. Hoben's death, in 1935, until today there have been four administrations, of which the fourth, that of President Weimer K. Hicks, is still in progress, having begun in 1953.

The other three presidents were Dr. Stewert Grant Cole, Dr. Paul Lamont Thompson, and Dr. John Scott Everton.

Since the twenties the most dramatic fact, in terms of educational techniques, has been the advance of science education. Like most colleges and universities, Kalamazoo College had been mainly an institution of classical education up until and on into the twentieth century. Latin and Greek were the most honored studies; science took a seat that was far to the rear.

A revolution in this respect began about the middle of the twenties. The results were evident in 1952 when the committee on the education of scientists of the Connecticut Wesleyan University made a comparative study of science education in American universities and colleges. The results were published in a 450-page volume, *Origins of American Scientists*. In this report Kalamazoo College gained national recognition for its training of scientists. The college achieved a par score of second in the nation in the production of scientists, topped only by Reed College in Oregon.

But that did not mean that the college had become a science school in any technical sense. In 1926, when the revolution was beginning, the college abolished the degree of B.S. and began to confer on all its graduates, science majors as well as students in other disciplines, the B.A. degree. This was notice to the world that Kalamazoo College would remain what it had always been, a liberal arts school in the most basic sense. Today the science student receives a liberal arts education in terms of science just as the student of an older day received it in terms of the classical languages.

Since the inauguration of Dr. Weimer K. Hicks as the twelfth president, there has been a period of dramatic growth along all lines. The physical plant has been greatly enlarged, the funds supplied by a 125th anniversary money raising campaign and in some other ways. Endowment was greatly strengthened through bequests and generous gifts by friends of the college. Among others, one bequest in the will of Mrs. Winifred Dewing Wallace, amounting to \$1,327,749, was listed by the directors of *Who's Who in America* as "the most substantial gift in relation to endowment and plant value brought to the attention of the editors during the period

from July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1955." A limit of 630 students was put on enrollment, by way of stressing quality as over against quantity. The faculty has been greatly strengthened and enlarged. The library has been virtually rebuilt, so that "for several years now the book fund budget . . . has been larger than that of most institutions of higher learning in Michigan—fifth among all colleges and universities in the state" (1953 report). In recognition of these and other long strides forward, the college has been granted a chapter of Phi Beta Kappa; the Delta Chapter of Michigan was installed on December 9, 1958.

There have been many other items in the history of the growth of the college. Those listed here are some of the features of which the general public became conscious during the 125th anniversary observance. Since then there has been a full year of undramatic activity on the campus at the grassroots of higher education. As everybody knows, what is really important in the life of any college is the day-by-day work that goes on outside the circle of any spotlight. After its long look at the past during the 125th anniversary year, the college has, with the instinct of its still lusty youth, turned its eyes to the future.

Robert McClelland and the Secession Crisis

Frederick D. Williams

THE FEDERAL UNION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY was periled by internal discord on five occasions, and on each occasion, save one, the difficulty was settled by compromise. In 1860 there developed a crisis which was characterized by such searing hatred that pleas for moderation were muffled by noisy aggressive radicals from both North and South. This crisis was precipitated by the election of Abraham Lincoln and it culminated in disunion and civil war.

Throughout the presidential campaign of 1860 Southern extremists threatened to secede if Lincoln was elected; but the cry of disunion had become so familiar that few Northerners paid any attention to it. Most of Michigan's population simply scoffed at the idea. Ann Arbor's three weekly newspapers regarded the threat as mere campaign oratory, and together with most people of that community failed to recognize the seriousness of the situation until after the election.¹ In the wake of Lincoln's victory a Detroit paper predicted that the Southern people would themselves keep the disunionists under control.² "The Cotton States," declared the *Pontiac Weekly Gazette*, "are kicking up a bit of a row and threaten disunion. This is no new thing. Disunion is a chronic disease of southern fire-eaters."³

Among the few in Michigan who quickly sensed the danger to the Union was Robert McClelland, a Douglas Democrat with a distinguished career of public service to his credit. Born and educated in Pennsylvania, McClelland was a practicing lawyer in his middle twenties when he moved to Monroe, Territory of Michigan, in 1833. Two years later he was a delegate to the Michigan constitutional convention and played a prominent role in the work of that body. From then on his rise in politics was rapid. McClelland served in the Michigan legislature and in the United States House

¹George S. May, "Ann Arbor and the Coming of the Civil War," in *Michigan History*, 241-43 (September, 1952).

²*Detroit Daily Advertiser*, November 9, 1860.

³*Pontiac Weekly Gazette*, November 16, 1860.

of Representatives, was a delegate to the Michigan constitutional convention of 1850, and in that year was elected governor of the state. He was reelected, but resigned in 1853 to accept an appointment as Secretary of the Interior, an office which he administered successfully during the presidency of Franklin Pierce. In 1857 McClelland returned to Michigan to resume his law practice and was living in Detroit when the Civil War began.

For several days after Lincoln's election the Republicans celebrated their victory, but the Democrats were sore and afraid of the result.⁴ The outcome left McClelland burning with resentment toward Democrats in the cotton states who had deserted the party and were now prepared to desert the Union. "I was for Union & Harmony at Charleston," he lamented to a friend. "The interests of the party and the country were there disregarded, and we are already reaping its bitter fruits. There is no question about the South having great cause of complaining but it should not resolve on secession." McClelland's thoughts about the future tended to dishearten him, for he believed the secessionists "must advance or fall, and what must be the result of the former action, no one can foretell. The very contemplation of it is enough to discourage every good citizen."⁵

Unwilling to wait and watch the Union dissolve, McClelland did what he could to help subdue secession and sectional hatred. In letters to prominent Southerners he called for patience, forbearance and, above all, time. Late in November he wrote Alexander Stephens that time was needed to discredit the demagogues and overcome false pride. Time was needed to permit Lincoln, once he took office, to desert the abolitionists, enforce the Fugitive Slave Law, support repeal of the Personal Liberty laws, and abandon the Chicago Platform. McClelland expected these steps to be taken and told Stephens that if Southerners "had folded their arms and intently watched the movement of the political caldron for six months after his [Lincoln's] inauguration, they would have seen

⁴McClelland to John B. Palmer, November 12, 1860, Letterbook, 1860-1862, McClelland Papers, Burton Historical Collection, in the Detroit Public Library. All of the McClelland's letters cited hereafter are in this letterbook.

⁵McClelland to J. S. Wilson, November 15, 1860.

his party . . . broken into fragments."⁶ In the middle of December, just four days before South Carolina seceded, McClelland assured Jefferson Davis that the conservative element in the North was once more appearing on the surface. "The sober second thought has brought the people to their senses," McClelland explained, "and I have much confidence in their present determination from the fact that they pay little attention to the demagogues & fanatics that misled them."⁷

McClelland was overly optimistic. In Michigan, as elsewhere in the North, extremism was on the march. Behind the leadership of such prominent politicians as Moses Wisner, Austin Blair, and Zachariah Chandler rallied the opponents of compromise and conciliation. In a fiery farewell message presented on January 1, 1861, Governor Wisner denounced slavery and secession and declared that Michigan could not recognize the right of a state to leave the Union.⁸ Two days later the incoming governor, Austin Blair, delighted anti-Southern hotheads with an inaugural message that breathed defiance. In a closing passage Blair inveighed against the South:

Secession is revolution, and revolution in the overt act is treason and must be treated as such. The Federal Government has the power to defend itself, and I do not doubt that that power will be exercised to the utmost. It is a question of war that the seceding States have to look in the face. They who think that this powerful government can be disrupted peacefully have read history to no purpose. The sons of the men who carried arms in the seven years' war with the most powerful nation in the world, to establish this government, will not hesitate to make equal sacrifices to maintain it. Most deeply must we deplore the unnatural contest. On the heads of the traitors who provoke it must rest the responsibility. In such a contest the God of battles has no attribute that can take sides with the revolutionists of the Slave States.⁹

Completing this trio of Michigan extremists was Zach Chandler,

⁶McClelland to Alexander H. Stephens, November 24, 1860. On November 14 Stephens had delivered a magnificent speech urging the Georgia legislature to avoid precipitate action on the question of secession. Moderate men across the nation welcomed the conciliatory tone of the address and it occasioned McClelland's letter of the 24th.

⁷McClelland to Jefferson Davis, December 16, 1860.

⁸Governor Wisner's message is in George N. Fuller, editor, *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, 2:376-413 (Lansing, 1926).

⁹Governor Blair's message is in Fuller, ed., *Messages of the Governors of Michigan*, 2:425-42. For the quote see 441-42.

who labored assiduously throughout the secession crisis to prevent compromise. When Chandler learned that some states thought a fight would be awful, he wrote Governor Blair that "Without a little blood-letting, this Union will not . . . be worth a rush."¹⁰

Equally intransigent was the Republican-dominated legislature, which wasted little time in displaying its contempt for moderation. On January 4, which had been designated by President James Buchanan as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, the legislature declined to adjourn. The Lansing correspondent of the *Detroit Daily Advertiser* explained that the lawmakers thought fasting and prayer were quite proper, but that the country had already had a full dose of humiliation.¹¹ Angered by the progress of the secession movement, the legislature complied with recommendations made by Governor Blair in his inaugural message and adopted resolutions proclaiming the supremacy of the Federal government; pledging the powers of the state to defend that government; and stating that concession and compromise were not to be entertained or offered to traitors. Copies of these resolutions, which passed by a vote of 65 to 8 in the House and 28 to 2 in the Senate, were sent to Michigan's senators and representatives in Washington and to the governors of the Northern states.¹² Supported and encouraged by a vociferous Republican press, the legislature refused to repeal the state's Personal Liberty laws,¹³ voted against sending delegates to the Washington Peace Conference, and remained adamantly opposed to negotiating with those who had mounted the blue cockade of secession.

Against this determined opposition, McClelland attempted to rally support for compromise. On the last of December a number of

¹⁰*Congressional Globe*, 2:1247 (36 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D.C., 1861). When in February Lazarus W. Powell of Kentucky read this letter to the Senate, Chandler neither denied its authenticity nor admitted writing it; but he did endorse its contents.

¹¹*Detroit Daily Advertiser*, January 5, 1861. Actually the legislature remained in session only a few minutes on January 4.

¹²*Detroit Daily Advertiser*, February 4, 1861.

¹³In a report submitted in February a majority of the House Judiciary committee upheld the constitutionality of the state's Personal Liberty laws and opposed repeal. A minority report declaring them unconstitutional was also filed. A month later the House voted overwhelmingly in favor of postponing indefinitely the whole subject. *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, February 11, 13; March 12, 1861.

citizens from both political parties asked him to make public his views of the crisis. His reply appeared as a pamphlet and was published in the *Detroit Free Press*. Topically speaking, it fell into three parts: a presentation of the background and chief causes of the crisis; a consideration of its seriousness; and a policy aimed at restoring harmony.

In presenting the background of the crisis, McClelland dwelt on the institution of slavery. After tracing its historical development and arguing that the Northern states and Great Britain were primarily responsible for its existence, he contended that the Federal Union could never have been established if the controversy over slavery had not been amicably adjusted. McClelland then pointed out that the Union was in the throes of a great crisis and threatened with disunion. The reasons for this were to be found in events of the last decade. He pointed first to the bitterness engendered in the South by Northern misconceptions of the Fugitive Slave Law. That bitterness was greatly intensified, he continued, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the irrepressible conflict doctrine, the Dred Scott decision, the clash over the Lecompton constitution, and John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. He wound up his superficial treatment of causation with the conclusion that these developments had poisoned the atmosphere and dimmed the prospects for a rational approach to the central problem of slavery in the territories.

Turning next to the seriousness of the crisis, McClelland assailed the prevalent notion that the impending storm would blow over without any harm. He insisted that unless some suitable adjustment were made, first the cotton states and then the border states would secede. Enforcement of Federal laws would at once become a costly proposition, and, if resistance were encountered, war would undoubtedly result. That war would destroy the economic strength of the nation, and morality and religion would be "swept away in the tides of license and brutality which follow civil commotion." The tragic result would be the disappearance of strong democratic government. It should be recognized, he warned, "that our very existence as a free people, and the cause of liberty throughout the world, are at stake."

In McClelland's opinion peaceable secession was no solution to the crisis. The South, he reasoned, with its agricultural and commercial attributes, would, if unmolested, "make a great and powerful nation." Once established, a Southern nation would have to conclude a treaty of amity and concord with the North. In such a treaty the South would demand respect for property and the return of fugitives. Violations of such provisions would surely occur, and just as surely war would ensue.

What then should be done? First of all, McClelland urged both sections to confess wrong-doing. This, he believed, "would do more than anything else to promote a common redress of grievances and a reconciliation upon a lasting basis." The North should then give the South "a respectful hearing and grant every reasonable concession," including additional constitutional guarantees protecting slavery. "The fugitive slave law," he maintained, "may be modified so as to meet the objections urged against it, and at the same time be made more efficient." He suggested amendments to provide fugitives who were arrested but claimed to be free "a jury trial in the state to which they are returned." He was confident that the machinery of the law could be easily adapted to guarantee justice for fugitives so tried.

As a solution to the territorial problem, McClelland argued that popular sovereignty should be accepted and that Congress should adopt it until it could be written into the constitution. His preference for popular sovereignty over an extension of the Missouri Compromise line derived from his conviction that "it would effect the same purpose and would not conflict with the decisions of the Supreme Court." Moreover, it would disarm the fanatics and demagogues who would "denounce any line as the black line." Along with many others McClelland contended that the controversy was purely academic. Slavery could not be permanently established in any territory, he maintained, because "either the climate or productions forbid it; and there is too much uncultivated land, suitable for slave labor, in the southern states, far superior to any in the Territories, to permit the withdrawal from such States of any large number of slaves." In view of all this he could conceive of no safer solution than to withdraw "the apple of discord from the general and local governments until the people of the Territory

shall form and adopt a State constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union." In the event that Congress failed to act on the territorial question, McClelland asserted that the state legislatures should call conventions for amending the constitution.¹⁴

McClelland's views of the secession crisis evoked considerable annoyed comment from across the state. Critics assailed him for compiling an unjust indictment against the North which sounded like the "clap-trap of the partisan at the hustings,"¹⁵ chided him for writing a statement containing nothing "calculated to make much impression on the public mind,"¹⁶ and accused him of demanding that the Republican party yield everything it had won and adopt the Douglas Platform.¹⁷ In the Michigan House of Representatives resolutions were introduced denouncing McClelland's statement. These resolutions stated that the people of Michigan were opposed to popular sovereignty; that there was no reason to abandon the legal, just and wise principles of the Republican party; and that the state "would resist by all lawful and constitutional means the further encroachments of slavery," and urge Congress to pass laws protecting "the free territories . . . from this great National curse."¹⁸ Considering the uncompromising tone of these remarks and the absence of any concerted support for McClelland's position, there is no reason to believe that he succeeded in making many converts to the cause of conciliation.

During the weeks that followed McClelland experienced anxiety, discouragement, and frustration as the prospects for peace and union diminished. On January 8, just two days after his statement appeared in the *Detroit Free Press*, the North celebrated the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans. Scores of Michigan towns and cities witnessed noisy demonstrations, with parades, fireworks, and patriotic speeches. The *Detroit Daily Tribune* rejoiced that these meetings and salutes reflected a Jacksonian determination

¹⁴The quotes in the five preceding paragraphs are from McClelland's statement titled "The Crisis," which appeared in the *Detroit Free Press*, January 6, 1861.

¹⁵*Detroit Daily Tribune*, January 9, 1861.

¹⁶*Detroit Daily Advertiser*, January 8, 1861.

¹⁷*Detroit Daily Advertiser*, January 15, 1861.

¹⁸*Detroit Daily Advertiser*, January 17, 1861.

to preserve the Union.¹⁹ McClelland must have taken a dim view of these displays, which undoubtedly convinced more and more people that force alone could save the nation.

Nor did he think much would be accomplished by the numerous Union meetings held throughout the North. On January 28, Detroit's City Hall was jammed with people who responded to Mayor C. H. Buhl's call for a meeting to consider the question of the Union. A spokesman for the Mayor opened the session by saying that it was not intended to recall the allegiance of traitors in the South, nor to endeavor to compromise or temporarily heal over the wounds in the body politic. The purpose was to devise a plan that would end forever the existing sectional strife. After the presentation of this ambitious objective, the meeting went on to approve six proposals that were less generous to the South than the controversial Crittenden resolutions.²⁰ McClelland refused to attend the affair because he was satisfied before it was held that the leaders would not go far enough. "The people are ready," he insisted, "but in the hands of the Phillistines."²¹ His views certainly clashed with those of the *Saginaw Enterprise*, which denounced Union meetings proposing compromise with the South as "miserable, self-humiliating, dirt-eating farces."²²

In the nation's capital the House and Senate committees, appointed to consider compromise measures, accomplished nothing of significance, and the Washington Peace Conference labored in vain. Of the many proposals that were considered, McClelland had entertained greatest hope for the Crittenden and the Border State plans. When it became clear that they were doomed, he expressed his belief that "if either was submitted to the people, it would be carried."²³

Dismayed by the seeming lack of leadership in Washington, McClelland turned against the administration of James Buchanan.

¹⁹January 9, 1861.

²⁰Detroit *Free Press*, January 29, 1861.

²¹McClelland to Moses Kelly, January 29, 1861.

²²Quoted in the *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, January 7, 1861. The *Saginaw* paper feared that one purpose of these meetings was to get enough Republicans "to combine with the scattered fragments of other parties to build up a new and stronger doughface party at the North."

²³McClelland to William Byler, January 30, 1861. On January 10, 1861, McClelland wrote to John J. Crittenden that if his plan were submitted to the people "it would be adopted in good faith by at least three fourths."

At first glance it might appear that the President's policy of watchful waiting, aimed at preserving peace and the Union, would appeal to a moderate like McClelland. This was not the case. McClelland insisted all along that the administration should make its position clear, and in his opinion there was but one position to take. A maximum effort should be made to compromise with the South, and if that failed (McClelland believed it would not), the administration should adopt severe measures and prosecute them vigorously. These things, of course, the President had not done. It is not surprising, therefore, that shortly after the government changed hands McClelland wrote that Buchanan "had disgraced himself."²⁴

It took less than a month of Republican rule to convince McClelland that the new administration was proving a failure. "Lincoln now is neither for peace or war," he wrote late in March. "He must compromise & back down, or call Congress together & declare war to the bitter end. He cannot collect duties—he has no army—he has no men [a]round him equal to those he has to oppose. Secession is a humbug. It is revolution, and must be viewed as such. [Jefferson] Davis is sometimes rash and impetuous, but he knows more in a minute than Lincoln does in a year."²⁵ For about a month after taking office, Lincoln adhered to the Buchanan policy of watchful waiting. By the first week of April the Republican administration was under fire, even from newspapers that had helped put it in power. By that time McClelland had come to the conclusion that Lincoln was "totally unfit for his place," that his cabinet was weak and divided, and that he was "making even Buchanan's administration look respectable."²⁶

For a number of reasons McClelland's position during the secession crisis is deserving of praise. Commendable indeed was his ability to maintain a calm, rational approach to the problems confronting the nation. At a time when emotionalism and fanaticism were on the ascendancy, when men who dared to suggest moderation were shouted down and subjected to abuse, he did what he could to restore good will and promote compromise. Few people displayed

²⁴McClelland to his brother William, March 19, 1861.

²⁵McClelland to K. Pritchette. This undated letter was probably written between March 15 and 20, 1861.

²⁶McClelland to John Adriance, April 6, 1861.

his perception and realism regarding the dire consequences of a civil war, and probably nobody in Michigan did more than he to try to save the Union and preserve the peace.

At the same time McClelland committed serious errors of judgment and was woefully unrealistic about some matters. He underestimated the political power wielded by the secessionists in the Southern states; and long after Union sentiment in the South had been overawed, he insisted it was strong and articulate. He also underrated the political sagacity of Republican leaders when he called upon them to renounce their stand on the territorial question. He was asking them to commit party suicide and they knew it. Involved here was another shortcoming—his failure to appreciate the importance of the moral issue in the slavery controversy. McClelland's indifference on this score enabled him to support a compromise which would have made the "peculiar institution" a permanent fixture under the constitution. His disregard for the moral issue also enabled him to reduce the controversy to problems that could be solved by the give and take of practical politics. Even then some of his compromise proposals either rested on shaky assumptions or were too vague and general to be of much value. For example, his demand for a national convention to settle the territorial problem was based on the premise that the delegates would support popular sovereignty, a doctrine whose practical operation he left unexplained.

On one point, however, his position was clear: the Union should be saved—by compromise if possible, by force if necessary. The attack on Fort Sumter eliminated all doubt as to what course should be followed. In a final statement on the crisis McClelland wrote:

The war is inaugurated, and there should be no flinching now. With a rational policy, and vigor, firmness, & decision, the integrity of the Union can be preserved. Recognize by separation, or in any other way, the doctrine of secession, & your government is not worth a farthing. Make every concession consistent with honor, but manfully insist on the unity of the whole country. I have confidence in the intelligence & patriotism of the American people; I cannot believe they will permit the mischief of the hour to destroy the most glorious system of government ever conceived.²⁷

²⁷McClelland to W. W. Murphy, May 5, 1861.

Father Gabriel Richard

Stanley Pargellis

TEN YEARS AGO, WHEN, AS AN OUTSIDER, I spoke at the Father Gabriel Richard sesquicentennial, marking the passage of 150 years since he arrived in Detroit, I said that in a way I represented Detroit's sister city, Chicago. Today, quite officially and as his personal representative, I bring you the greetings of Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago. He would like to have been here himself, and to have joined in this celebration in honor of one of your city's great men. Perhaps no other city in the country can boast of having had, in its frontier days, so remarkable an individual as Father Richard. In Chicago we have no one to compare with him. If Detroit was small in 1798, Chicago then had little more than a house or two, and was not incorporated as a village until 1833, after Father Richard's death. Our boom, which began in the 1830's, owes something to Father Richard's foresight, and for that reason I think I shall refuse to be an outsider here any longer. I am going to lay claim, on behalf of Chicago, to some small touch of your patron saint.

What is especially striking about this mural that is dedicated here today is its complete and perfect appropriateness. Americans have often had sad experiences with murals; sometimes we have been shocked by them; sometimes they have seemed utterly out of keeping with the purpose for which they were intended; they have caused vocal wars; they have even been torn down and replaced. This mural can produce no such aftermath; its perfection in location and in treatment is a tribute to those who planned, who executed, and who made it possible. This magnificent terminal building lies within the narrow limits of Detroit of a century and a half ago, a village, we would say, little more than five blocks long and five blocks wide. More than that, it stands on the site of the center of Father Richard's work, St. Anne's; from this center, this spot, he traveled to the outlying farms, the narrow ribbon strips up and down the river, and to settlements much farther removed.

Buses will leave this terminal for points in all directions. The building itself is a witness to Americans' need for travel, and to

their love of it. It stands for more; its very size shows the confidence of its builders that Americans will travel more and farther tomorrow than they do today. Father Richard, in his time, had more miles behind him than most other Americans: From Paris to Baltimore, from Baltimore to Kaskaskia, from Kaskaskia and the other Mississippi River settlements to Detroit, from Detroit to Baltimore and back, to Mackinac, Chicago, and St. Louis, to every village in the vast diocese of Detroit, and to Washington and return. These thousands of miles, which do not seem very many to us today, he traveled by boat and by canoe, on horseback, and in stagecoach. Out of those arduous journeys, taking months where today we take days, he came to the conclusion that roads must inevitably surpass streams or trails as a means of transportation. Roads were so much an agency of civilization that they had to be fought for; without them a vast country could neither be united, nor grow. Between Father Richard and the building of this terminal there runs a connecting link. Let me explain.

Father Richard took his seat in Congress on December 8, 1823, as territorial delegate from Michigan, the only Roman Catholic priest who ever sat in Congress. Three weeks later he moved that the committee on post office and post roads inquire into the expediency—that was the phraseology of the day, which he had soon learned—of establishing a post road from Mount Clemens to Fultonville, St. Clair County, in Michigan. Put yourselves back into those days—you could get to Mount Clemens from Detroit, but the only way from Detroit to the settlements of the west end of Lake St. Clair lay by boat. He then supported the building of the road from Detroit to Toledo, already under consideration. And as if these merely served as the whetting of his appetite, he moved a month later that the committee on roads and canals inquire into the expediency of reporting a bill to authorize the surveying and making of a road from Detroit or from Pontiac to Lake Michigan or to Chicago. In April such a bill was reported, was read twice, and committed to the committee of the whole. Not until the following January, nine months later, did the House resolve itself into a committee of the whole on the bill. I ask you to imagine the scene. Henry Clay, Speaker of the House, an avowed candidate for the

presidency and the deviser of a plan for a system of internal improvements into which Father Richard's bill fitted, called upon the delegate from Michigan to present a statement of the facts. Up rose the gaunt, wiry figure that had already become a familiar sight in Washington, with a high-waisted, huge-skirted black robe, his spectacles across the top of his bulging forehead, with silver-buckled highly polished boots, but no stockings, and, as everyone knew, with a gold snuff box ready to be produced when he had finished. Speaking English with so pronounced an accent that some could scarcely have understood him, he delivered a completely practical and persuasive speech. "The Erie canal will be completed next summer," he said; "it will put Detroit in contact with the East." He had been, the preceding fall, on a ship specially built, with a moveable keel, to go through Lake Erie and down the canal. Already whole families, sometimes with their "wagons, horses, sheep and milk-cows" come from Buffalo, land in Detroit, "ready to go in search of good land, to settle on it, and having their money ready to give the Receiver of the Land Office. No road to go into that immense wilderness! What disappointment! Let this road be made; let it be determined by this House that it shall be made; then you will have purchasers enough; they will come as a torrent from the Eastern States." The road will not cost the government anything, for half the land along the road will sell for more than the whole would, without a road. The government finances will benefit, its military operations, as well, and the east of the Union will be connected with the west. So pass the bill, gentlemen, with but one amendment, filling in the blank in the third section, "which provided for the cost of surveying," with the sum of \$1500. Our Mr. Daniel P. Cook of Illinois, very much on the ball, at once moved to fill the blank with double that figure. It was agreed to, and the committee ordered the bill engrossed for a third reading. It passed the Senate; the surveying was done; and two years later the Congress appropriated \$20,000 to construct the road.

The road is today US-112, and it begins at this terminal. It ought to be called the Father Richard Highway, and it ought to run into Chicago under that name. For along it passed, as a link in the quickest, safest, and easiest route west from New York in the 1830's and 1840's countless future citizens of Chicago and points beyond.

That is the reason why we out there, in the city which Father Richard helped in a way to build, can share justifiably in a small part of him. That is again another reason for the appropriateness of this mural on this spot. For it shows the state of transportation as he knew it, those canoes in the upper left-hand portion; below the canoes, the territorial delegate speaking in Congress; and in the lower right-hand corner, the construction of the road he fathered.

The mural shows also, at Father Richard's left shoulder, the old church of St. Anne's. The original church had been begun in the first half of the eighteenth century; after Father Richard came to Detroit he worked hard to complete it. The fire of 1805 swept it away, with the rest of the tiny frontier fortress and town. For Father Richard the fire was a turning point in his life. He had been planning and hoping some day to return to France. As he looked at the destruction, murmured the words now a part of the corporate seal of Detroit, "*Speramus meliora; resurget cineribus*," and found that he alone was the one man who could organize the relief, procure blankets and food from the communities along the river, he made up his mind to stay in America, if he were permitted, and to throw in his lot with the town. He began collecting money to rebuild the church. He sent out appeals to communities in the East, he went east himself to try to raise funds, and when at last the church was begun, thirteen years after the fire, he pushed the building with all the ingenuity in details—the saving of small sums over the carting of lime, the inserting of bottles in the walls to aid the acoustics—that his fertile mind could summon.

Details, details! If you read Father Richard's letters, you may think that he was incessantly occupied with them. "For the first time I made an apostolic journey to Green Bay, where I found more than sixty Catholic families. During a period of seven days, I performed 126 baptisms, 26 marriages, and heard the confessions of nearly everyone. Among those married were seven young squaws, whom I baptized. A squaw seventy-two years old married a white youth of seventy-eight. He said to me, 'I have been here for sixty years, and I have never seen a priest.'" Almost all of his letters are like that. Here is a thumbnail sketch of him in 1816: "He has the talent of doing, almost simultaneously, ten entirely different things. Provided with newspapers, well informed on all political

matters, ever ready to argue on religion when the occasion presents itself, and thoroughly learned in theology, he reaps his hay, gathers the fruits of his garden, manages a fishery fronting his lot, teaches mathematics to one young man, reads to another, devotes time to mental prayer, establishes a printing press, confesses all his people, imports carding and spinning wheels and looms to teach the women of his parish how to work, leaves not a single act of his parochial register unwritten, mounts an electrical machine, goes on sick calls at a very great distance, writes letters and receives others from all parts, preaches every Sunday and holy day both lengthily and learnedly, enriches his library, spends whole nights without sleep, walks for whole days, loves to converse, receives company, teaches the catechism to his young parishioners, supports a girls' school under the management of a few female teachers of his own choosing whom he directs like a religious community, while he gives lessons in plain-song to young boys assembled in a school he had founded, leads a most frugal life, and is in good health, as fresh and able at the age of fifty as one usually is at thirty." These two quotations, one from his own pen, one from another's, may well leave the impression that here was only a restless energetic man, of the kind you all have known, incessantly on the move, doing his parochial duties, a very useful kind of person in this world, but scarcely deserving to have statues erected to his memory, and books written about him, and parks and schools named after him, and mosaics built. The mural itself may leave you with that impression. There, at the right, is his garden of pear and other fruit trees; at the top is an organ which he brought to Detroit; at the bottom is a printing press, his own, the first press in the territory. These represent a few only of his interests; no mural could contain them all. Out of his own mouth he confessed to many more: "My spirit, my imagination, and still more my heart is full of plans, designs, projects, and conceptions which I should call extravagant, and which always remain sterile; they abort or they die at birth."

The answer to any possible criticism that might be levelled against Father Richard for this energy and this variety of interest and attention to details is a simple one. You will have guessed it. This is the kind of man we are accustomed to in this country, the kind of men, we say, who helped to make us. We say that such is the

best type of American, always on the go, full of ideas, getting things done. Father Richard, French by birth, was in temperament and action an American long before he became a citizen. He seems to resemble two other great Americans of his time. Benjamin Franklin has been called the father of almost everything: father of circulating libraries, father of American spelling reform, father of daylight saving, inventor of bifocal lenses, of the United States Postal Service, of the lightning rod, father of fire insurance. Father Richard was a father in more than name in Michigan, and would have fathered much more had his resources matched his restless spirit. There is another American we revere with whom Father Richard had much in common, a man who knew Father Richard and supported him. The Sage of Monticello, in that ingenious house which has become an American shrine, and with that extraordinary library that encompassed most of the fields of knowledge, would have chuckled in appreciation had he known that his friend in Detroit had ordered sent from New York not merely an air pump and an electrical machine, but a set of Napier's bones—graduated slips or rods to make multiplication and division more easy, the ancestor of the slide rule. Franklin, Jefferson, and Father Richard had in common an insatiate curiosity coupled with down-to-earth practicality, and an ability both to dream and to do, a sense that one has to get on with the job, the building of a new nation; an intense belief in and love for that new country; a feeling of sympathy and responsibility for the Indians, the original Americans; a belief in the equality of men, under law, in a republican form of government; and a passionate conviction that there could never be any such thing as too much education. Franklin helped found the University of Pennsylvania; Jefferson the University of Virginia; and Richard the University of Michigan. And why should they not have had much in common? They breathed the same intellectual air, that potent air of what we call the Eighteenth Century Enlightenment, which was to see the outmoded institutions and customs of the old order swept away, and a new regime in time installed based on reason and on faith and having as its purpose the freedom, the fulfillment, and the salvation of every individual. That air began to hover over colonial America in Franklin's time, and over France. Franklin was no stranger to France, or France to him,

when he went there for the first time; and Jefferson learned much from his years in Paris. French ideas were of a new world at home; they found reception in the fertile soil of a real new world across the sea. Some part of this ferment Father Richard shared. His bishop, for instance, once criticized him for being too republican, too anti-British, and too political in his talk. I should like to have seen those three men together, and not for one conversation, but for many. Remember that Franklin and Jefferson, throughout their lives, mingled with educated men. Father Richard for over thirty years lived among a handful of French-speaking farmers. There were few people, but there were a few, who could understand and appreciate both how much he knew and the principles which drove him. I have a notion that Franklin and Jefferson, if these imaginary conversations could have become real, would have learned something from this priest who combined in himself the best of the old world and of the new. They would have felt in him a greater intensity than theirs of zeal to educate all sorts of people: Indians, his French parishioners, Americans, and priests; in all the ways that fitted them best, vocational, primary, secondary, and at the highest level. Four of the scenes in the mural have directly to do with education: the kneeling Indian in the left foreground; next to him the first building of the University of Michigan; and at the right, above and below St. Anne's Church, two of Father Richard's schools.

The mystery, as yet unresolved, is what made up the intellectual armor of this priest. Franklin and Jefferson both today have editors assiduously compiling every bit of their writings and letters into multivolumed sets. The city of Detroit and the University of Michigan ought to combine in a joint endeavor to do the same for the third of this triumvirate. By great good luck, and none of your own devising, you have got yourself a hero in this state. You have honored him, very much by this mural in the heart of his stamping grounds, but you still do not know as much about him as you should. Nor have you ever paid to his church of St. Sulpice, in Paris, the simple homage of a tablet there, from the city of Detroit. The cost is small; the gesture great; the response in France would overwhelm you.

Failing enough information about Father Richard to answer the

question I posed — what was the source of his intellectual armor — I shall give you my own tentative answer, speaking as a Protestant. Last year an eminent businessman gave the distilled philosophy of his experience to a graduating class. The most important thing that he told them, as he said, was that whenever they tackled anything, they should concentrate from the very beginning on understanding and mastering the basic principles. The man who tackles the details first never gets around to the principles. Father Richard's basic principle was simple: the Church was truth, and truth should be spread to everyone. For ten years he was the only clergyman in Detroit; Detroit, Michigan, was his parish; all human beings in the area were under his care. As the late Pope Pius XII has shown us, for the very great religious leaders all prejudice disappears; all human beings are seen as children of God. Father Richard married Protestants, he preached to Protestants and Catholics together. If someone had said to him that he was a tolerant priest, he would not have understood what was meant. Tolerance—what is tolerance—when one is engaged upon the work of God? Tolerance is no virtue to be dissected out from the whole view which he had of men, to be elevated into a special place of prominence as the greatest of virtues. There are greater words than tolerance, such as justice and mercy, faith and love.

Travelers along the American road, seeing this mural, can take pride that against the dim horizon of the past there looms so courageous and so mighty a figure, a fit guide and forerunner of a city that is, and is to be.

Michigan Bibliography: 1958

Donald R. Brown

THIS ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY includes books, pamphlets, articles, and unpublished materials concerned with Michigan history, biography and description, that have been written or published during 1958. Historical items in related subjects such as archaeology and architecture are also included, as well as fiction, poetry, and folklore with a Michigan setting. Within the main format categories of Books and Pamphlets, and Periodical Articles, entries are arranged by specific subject. Unpublished materials complete the checklist.

Periodicals indexed in *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* were not examined because this was considered to be unnecessary duplication. Newspapers and filmstrips also are not included. For the latter, and for political and other titles in the social sciences that are not historical in approach, *Michigan in Books*, the new quarterly of the Michigan State Library, should be consulted.

Besides the Detroit Public Library, and particularly its Burton Historical Collection, which served as the primary sources for compilation, over four hundred letters of inquiry were mailed to libraries, historical agencies, and colleges throughout the state. While the response was not overwhelming, it did give promise of greater returns once the importance of the project is known. I wish to thank all of the individuals and institutions that have assisted in this compilation.

Mr. Henry D. Brown, director of the Detroit Historical Museum and chairman of the bibliography committee, will accept information on omissions from the 1958 list and preceding bibliographies.

Items located in the Burton Historical Collection are unmarked. Those located elsewhere are marked with the following symbols:

Mi—Michigan State Library

MiD—Detroit Public Library

MiDU—University of Detroit Library

MiD-W—Wayne State University

MiE-M—Michigan State University

- MiH—Hamtramck Public Library
MiHP—McGregor Public Library, Highland Park
MiJ—Jackson Public Library, Jackson
MiU—University of Michigan Libraries
MiV—Vicksburg Community Library, Vicksburg
MiW—Bacon Memorial Public Library, Wyandotte
ELU—University of London, London, England
OLWO—Western Ontario University, London, Canada
OTU—University of Toronto, Toronto, Canada
Uc—Items found in review with location not definitely known;
assumed to be in a library local to subject or setting.

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- HECKEWELDER, JOHN. *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Heckewelder*. Edited by Paul A. W. Wallace. Pittsburgh. University of Pittsburgh Press. 474 p. Travel journals of a missionary and friend of the Indians of the Eastern United States; several journeys made among Michigan Indians.
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- FABEN, W. W. Indians of the Tri-state Area: the Potawatomis. *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*, 30:49-53. Winter. 30:100-105. Spring.
- FOX, GEORGE R. The Fox Massacre at Detroit. *The Totem Pole*, 41:1-6. June. MiD. About a 1712 attack on Fort Pontchartrain.
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- MOLL, HAROLD W. An Indian Trail in Wexford County, Michigan. *The Totem Pole*, 41:5-6. April. MiD.
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- EVERETT, HELEN. Early Michigan Letter. *Michigan History*, 42:414-15. December. Introduction to Letter from Vermontville (1839).
- HARDENBERG, H. J. 800,000,000 Tons. *Michigan Conservation*, 27:12-15. January-February. History of the discovery of iron in the Upper Peninsula.
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- FLADELAND, BETTY. Alias Franklin Thompson. *Michigan History*, 42:435-62. December. About Sarah E. Edmonds, who successfully posed as a Civil War soldier.
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- BIGELOW, MARTHA M. The Political Services of William Alanson Howard. *Michigan History*, 42:1-25. March.
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- RAE, JOHN B. The Fabulous Billy Durant. *Business History Review*, 32:255-71. Autumn.
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- SCHORER, CALVIN E. John Trumbull on Erie's Serpent-haunted Shore. *Michigan History*, 42:331-42. September.
- STARRING, CHARLES R. Lucinda Hinsdale Stone: a Pioneer in the Education of Women in Michigan. *Michigan History*, 42:85-97. March.

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- BROWN, LAWRENCE W. An Awful Lot of Music in Detroit. *Among Friends*, 1958-1959. 4-7. Winter. History of the music publishing business since 1854 in Detroit.
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- DAoust, WILLIAM L. The Better Ore. *Michigan Conservation*, 27:8-11. September-October. State's role in mining low-grade iron ores.
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- JACOBY, JOHN C. Wayne County Road Commission. *Michigan Court-house Review*, 8:5-6. February. MiD. History and description.
- LEE, ROBERT E. Car Tracks to Oblivion. Detroit Historical Society. *Bulletin*, 14:6-12. April. History of the Detroit interurbans.
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- GLICK, DAVID T. Hail and Farewell. *Inland Seas*, 14:306-7. Winter. About Rangers II and III, ferries between Houghton and Isle Royale.
- HEYL, ERIK. The General Porter. *Niagara Frontier*, 5:49-53. Summer. Steamship on the regular Detroit-Buffalo run, 1834-1838.
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- MCGARITY, D. L. The Story of the Goodrich Line. *Inland Seas*, 14:221-26. Fall.
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- REEVES, PAMELA WILSON. Navigation on Lake Erie, 1825-1860 (chpt. 1). *Inland Seas*, 14:256-63. Winter.
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- STEVENS, WALLACE N. Great Lakes Ship Yards (Algonac through Marine City). *Telescope*, 7:5-7. November.

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- DAWSON, WILLIAM F. Ernest Hemingway: Petoskey Interview. *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, 64:114-23. Winter. MiD.
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- Michigan Tech's Ores Research. *Inside Michigan*, 8:18. June.
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- Northern Michigan College Expands. *Inside Michigan*, 8:17. June.

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- RYAN, DAN. Michigan's First College Celebrates. *Motor News*, 40:12. February. History of Kalamazoo College.
- STARK, GEORGE W. The Dream and the Reality. Detroit Historical Society. *Bulletin*, 15:2-11. November. History of the Detroit Historical Museum since 1928.
- Technical Education born of Industry. *Inside Michigan*, 8:13-14. February. History and description of the Detroit College of Applied Science, Ferndale.

ARCHITECTURE AND THE FINE ARTS

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- Jenney Landmark about to be razed. Michigan Society of Architects. *Monthly Bulletin*, 32:43. February. MiD. Describes Chicago architect Wm. LeBaron Jenney's Romance Languages building at the University of Michigan.
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- PEAR, LILLIAN M. Historical Houses in the Grosse Pointes. *Michigan History*, 42:353-60. September.
- ROGERS, MILLARD F., JR. The Michigan Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument and its Sculptor, Randolph Rogers. *Michigan History*, 42:237-44. June.
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- STARK, GEORGE W. A Monstrosity, Yes, but still — A Monument. Detroit Athletic Club. *D-A-C News*, 43:85-86. April. Detroit's old city hall.

RELIGION AND HISTORY

- BURGESS, CHARLES O. Green Bay and the Mormons of Beaver Island. *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 42:39-49. Autumn.
- DRUSE, JOSEPH L. Pulpit and Prayer in Earliest Lansing. *Michigan History*, 42:463-84. December.
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- MAY, GEORGE S. The Mission of St. Ignace and Father Marquette. *Michigan History*, 42:257-59. September.
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- PITEZEL, REV. JOHN H. Indians, Missionaries, and Canoe-sailing on Lake Superior in the Eighteen-forties. *Michigan Archaeologist*, 4:39-47. July. MiD. First published in 1861 when author was in charge of Indian mission at Sault Ste Marie.

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- BOYER, KENYON. People of Iron. *Michigan Conservation*, 27:11-15. March-April. History of nationality groups in order of arrival on the Upper Peninsula.
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- CRAPSTER, BASIL L. "New Padua," Justin McCarthy and Ann Arbor. *Michigan History*, 42:361-66. September. Social history of Ann Arbor in the 1870's as described in McCarthy's 1875 novel, *Dear Lady Disdain*.
- JUNTUNEN, ARTUR. Old-country Customs; Heat, Treat Tourists. *Motor News*, 40:17, 29. May. The Finnish sauna and the Cornish pasty of the Upper Peninsula.
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- PILJAN, JURAJ M. Detroit and the Slovaks of Detroit. National Slovak Society. *Souvenir Program*, 22nd Convention. 30-41. September.
- RECK, FRANKLIN M. The Lively Years of *The American Boy*. Among Friends, 2-6. Fall.
- SHEARER, JAMES, II. Culture sets in. *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, 64:247-51. Spring. MiD. Bay City in the 1890's.

- WHITEHEAD, ASA S. Nothing but the Forest and Mud. Detroit Society for Genealogical Research. *Bulletin*, 21:139-42. Summer. Social customs of West Bloomfield Township, Oakland County, in the 1830's and 1840's.
- WITTKE, CARL. Ora et Labora: A German Methodist Utopia. *Ohio Historical Quarterly*, 67:129-40. April. Located along Saginaw Bay near Caseville.
- WOLTER, EDITH. Dear Governor Ferris. *Michigan History*, 42:378-80. September. Read it and find out.
- YOUNG, MRS. GEORGE HENRY. Then and Now. Detroit Society for Genealogical Research. *Bulletin*, 22:47-48. Winter. Social customs in Ionia County in the 1850's.

LOCAL HISTORY

- ANDERSON, WILLIAM E. Significant Dates in Delta County History. *Michigan Courthouse Review*, 8:11. August. MiD.
- BARNES, AL. When Sherman battled for the County Seat. *Michigan History*, 42:215-22. June. About Wexford County.
- BOTSFORB, [Botsford], DAVID. A Brief History of Bois Blanc Island. *Telescope*, 7: 3-6. July. Ontario's island.
- CAPEN, LEWIS D. Mecosta County. *Michigan Courthouse Review*, 8: 9-11. September. MiD. History of the county.
- DOLL, LOUIS W. The early History of Bay County. *Michigan Courthouse Review*, 8:5-7. December. MiD.
- DUFRESNE, RONALD. The History of Menominee, Michigan. *Telescope*, 7:3-7. September; 7:10-12. October.
- FESSLER, JIM. The Telephone comes to quaint Beaver Island. *Michigan Bell*, 40:1-4. January. Historical sketch of the island.
- FOX, GEORGE R. Cass County Courthouses. *Michigan Courthouse Review*, 8:8-9. July. MiD.
- LYON, LESLIE D. Charlotte's Electrical Plants. *Michigan History*, 42: 188-96. June.
- McKEE, RUSSELL. From Pines to Panfish. *Motor News*, 41:20-21, 33. July. History of St. Helen, and its lumbering industry.
- PANGBURN, MILDRED AND AL CHAPMAN. The New Oceana Courthouse. *Michigan Courthouse Review*, 8:7-8. September. MiD. History of the county.
- ROSS, C. HOWARD. Washtenong — The Far-off Country. *Michigan Courthouse Review*, 8:5-8. October. MiD. History of Washtenaw County.

- RUSSELL, CURRAN N. Law and Order in Manistee County. *Michigan Courthouse Review*, 8:10-11. June. MiD. County history.
- STODDARD, F. BERENICE. Ghost Town of Assyria Township in Barry County. *Michigan History*, 42:324-30. September.

PLACE NAMES

- DEVER, HARRY. Back the Attack! It's Mackinac; *Michigan History*, 42:396-99. December.
- GREENMAN, EMERSON F. The Meaning of Michilimackinac. *Michigan History*, 42:391-92. December.
- KELSEY, WILLIAM KLINE. Mackinac, not Mackinaw. *Michigan History*, 42:400-401. December.
- MARCKWARDT, ALBERT H. The History of the Pronunciation of Mackinac. *Michigan History*, 42:405-13. December.
- MAY, GEORGE S. The Meaning and Pronunciation of Michilimackinac. *Michigan History*, 42:385-90. December.
- RANKIN, ERNEST H. Michilimackinac. *Inland Seas*, 14:270-76. Winter.
- RANKIN, ERNEST H. What is the Proper Pronunciation of Mackinac? *Michigan History*, 42:402-5. December.
- SMITH, EMERSON R. Michilimackinac: Land of the Great Fault. *Michigan History*, 42:392-96. December.
- WALLIS, RICHARD P. Names on the Lakes. *Inland Seas*, 14:15-25. Spring.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

- BARBER, RALPH R. Fun in the Sun. *Michigan Bell*, 40:41-42. May-June. Description of St. Clair-Metropolitan beach.
- BARNES, LEN. Henry's Hotel. *Motor News*, 41:12-13, 32. December. Dearborn Inn.
- BARNES, LEN. Michigan's Superior Drive. *Motor News*, 40:12-13, 32. June. The Keweenaw peninsula.
- BARNES, LEN AND ERIK PIERCE. Decision in the Porcupines. *Motor News*, 41:8-10, 28-29. October.
- BARRETT, PAUL M. You Own a Green Fortune. *Michigan Conservation*, 27:2-6. March-April. Description of state's 23 forests.
- BUCKERIDGE, W. T. Michigan among a Million Knights; 60 Years of Growth and Progress. *Boysville Journal*, 5. January.
- BURROUGHS, RAYMOND D. Perry's Deer Hunting in Michigan, 1838-1855. *Michigan History*, 42:35-58. March. Oliver H. Perry.
- COX, CHARLES E., JR. Drummond Island. *Ford Times*, 50:18-21. July.

- CRANE, GERALD E. The Detroit Medical Center. Michigan Society of Architects. *Monthly Bulletin*, 32:18-32. June. MiD.
- DUNATHAN, CLINT. Curtain Time for Color. *Motor News*, 41:20-21, 29. September. Michigan in the Fall.
- Early America on Parade. Insurance Company of North America. *Fieldman*, 15. August-September. Uc. The Henry Ford Museum.
- ELMER, A. C. The Old Porkies are New this Year. *Michigan Conservation*, 27:19-22. January-February.
- FERGUSON, KEN. Waterway Drive. *Motor News*, 40:18-19, 30. June. Description of the highway route M-29 along the St. Clair River.
- FESSLER, JIM. It's Great to Live in Michigan. *Michigan Bell*, 40:2-7. April.
- Ford and the Detroit Skyline. *Ford Times*, 50:2-7. May. Description of Detroit area.
- Ford Rotunda a Top Attraction. *Ohio Motorist*, 50:15, 18-19. January. MiD.
- Guide: Detroit Historical Museum. Detroit Historical Society. *Bulletin*, 15:3-22. October.
- HALL, RON. Trailer to Traverse. *Motor News*, 40:16, 28-29. June. Trip from Detroit to the Grand Traverse area.
- JELLEMA, DIRK. Kuyper's Visit to America in 1898. *Michigan History*, 42:227-36. June. Observations of a future Prime Minister of The Netherlands.
- KUTIS, VINCENT. Going through Detroit. National Slovak Society. *Souvenir Program*, 22nd Convention. 42-47. September. City description.
- LOWE, KENNETH S. North of the Straits. *Motor News*, 40:10-11, 27. May.
- McCoy, M. GARNETT. Detroit in the Eighteen-thirties; Impressions of Some Foreign Writers. *Among Friends*, 1958. 4-8. Summer.
- Michigan History and Resources. *Inside Michigan*, 8:33-35. May.
- Michigan is Vacation Land. *Inside Michigan*, 8:30-31. May.
- MITCHELL, JIM. Trip into Yesteryear. *Michigan Bell*, 40:2-7. March. About Ford Museum and Greenfield Village, Dearborn.
- MULLENDORE, BILL. Walleyes on the Huron. *Motor News*, 40:17, 34. March. Includes description of the Huron River from its source.
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The Detroit Young Men's Society

Newman Jeffrey

IN THE MAIN BRANCH OF THE DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY, as you take the elevator to the third floor and step into the hallway and you look ahead some twenty paces to the right-hand corner, you can see a white marble face peering over its left shoulder at you just as the elevator doors close behind.¹

The third floor, watched over by that marble bust, is a busy place. It houses the Henry G. Stevens Collection in the social science department, which has some twenty thousand visitors a year; several offices of the library and a cafeteria where one hundred and twenty employees of the main branch eat their lunches and take their coffee breaks; the library auditorium which is in almost constant use by various cultural groups of the city; and Detroit's famed Burton Historical Collection, which last year logged over eight thousand users.

It has been estimated that at least thirty thousand people a year step through those third-floor elevator doors, gaze upon and in turn are gazed upon by the brooding countenance of that white marble bust whose only observable identification are the four letters, CASS.

Where did the bust come from? Who was the sculptor and when did he chisel and polish the pure white stone? Who gave it to the library? And why does it reside in its ten foot bathtub-shaped niche, silent, unannounced, and unidentified save for the letters CASS?

At least one habitue of the Burton Historical Collection was curious enough to pause one day before the bust of Cass and ponder these questions. Contorting himself behind the marble pedestal into the niche, he lit a match. Using a piece of white paper as a reflector he made out the thinly chiseled words, "T. Jones, Sculptor, 1848."

The Burton Historical Collection—a little research—a great deal

¹This paper received an Alfred H. Whittaker history award in 1958. The presentation was made at the awards luncheon of the conference on local history participation, November 8, 1958, at Wayne State University.

of questioning of the Burton librarians, and the mystery was solved. Solved except for the question why there has never been an appropriate plaque hung on the pedestal of the Cass bust telling something of the early Detroit Young Men's Society, whose last act of business was to present it "as a memorial of the Young Men's Society, to be kept in the Public Library."²

The Detroit Young Men's Society was not the first lyceum-type cultural institution to be attempted in Michigan. That honor belongs to the City Library Society which was organized in August, 1817.³ Never very successful, this group was taken over by the Detroit Athenaeum in 1831. A year later, the Athenaeum was merged with the newly conceived Detroit Young Men's Society.⁴

The word "lyceum" almost defies precise definition. Stemming from the Greek "lykeion," a tract of ground near ancient Athens along whose shaded walks Aristotle taught, it crept into American usage and came to mean many things. Carl Bodie in his excellent study of the American lyceum traces the changing meaning of the word lyceum as it came to be applied to a broad cultural movement.⁵

The Detroit Young Men's Society, which lasted for exactly fifty years (1832-1882), was a part of the great nineteenth-century lyceum movement. The society was a voluntary association for debate and literary improvement, a social and educational institution providing lectures, entertainment, and library facilities for its members.

The lyceum movement in Michigan could always count on a good measure of hospitality. First of all, a strategically located city arose to give Michigan leadership and luster. That was Detroit. "From 1820 on, it possessed a remarkably vigorous intellectual life. Indeed

²Detroit *Post and Tribune*, October 1, 1882; Detroit Public Library *Report*, 1882. The latter, describing the acquisitions from the "terminated" Young Men's Society, reports, "They also gave us an expensive and valuable marble bust of our eminent deceased fellow citizen, Lewis Cass."

³Judge Augustus B. Woodward in 1818 founded and wrote the curious charter for the Detroit lyceum. Lasting less than a year, it can hardly be said to have had any lineal connection with the Young Men's Society. Judge Woodward's efforts, however, are important in that he foresaw a community need and started an organization to fill it. See Detroit *Gazette*, January 29, 1819, and Frank B. Woodford's *Mr. Jefferson's Disciple: A Life of Judge Woodward* (East Lansing, 1953).

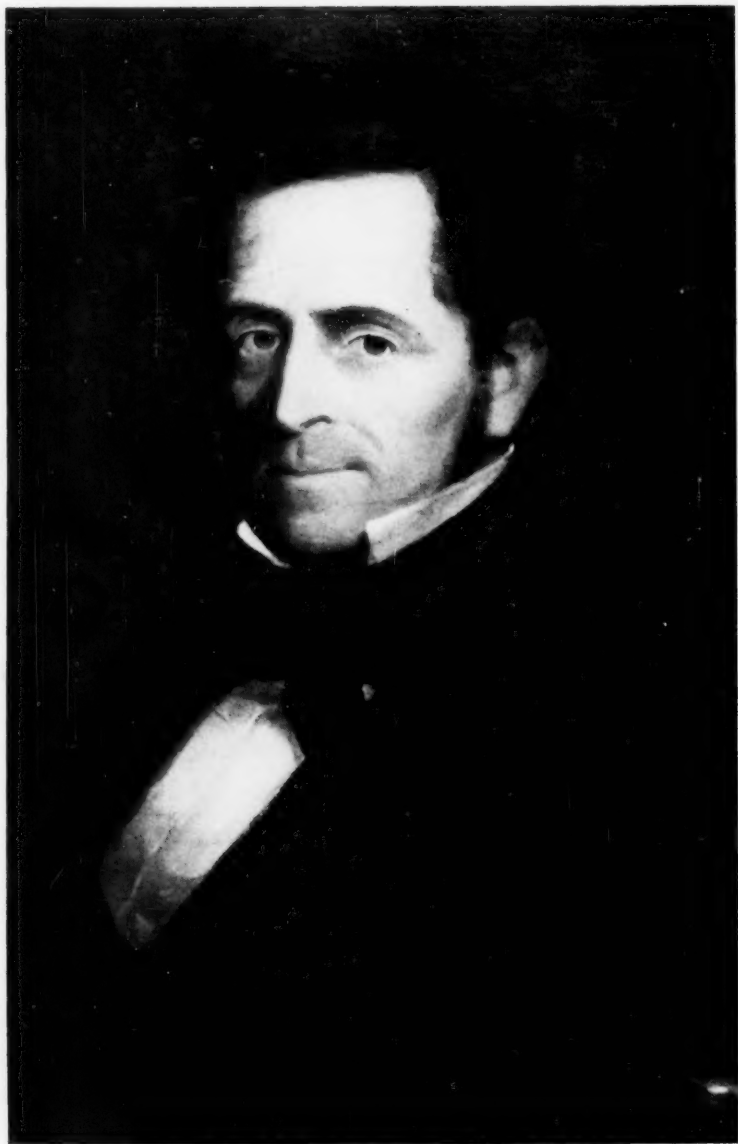
⁴Clarence M. Burton, *The City of Detroit, Michigan*, 1:834 (Detroit, 1922).

⁵Carl Bodie, *The American Lyceum, Town Meeting of the Mind*, chapter 1 (Oxford, 1956).



Courtesy Detroit Public Library

THE CASS BUST BY TOM JONES, 1848



Courtesy Detroit Historical Museum

FRANKLIN SAWYER, JR., FIRST PRESIDENT OF DETROIT YOUNG
MEN'S SOCIETY, BY ALVAH BRADISH

in terms of the kind of culture that the lyceum represented, Detroit became the outstanding city in the Midwest."⁶

Furthermore, in the year before Josiah Holbrook of Derby, Connecticut, founded the Millbury Lyceum in 1826,⁷ the Erie Canal was opened. New Englanders took increasing advantage of the canal and of steamboat passage to Detroit and its environs. Throughout the 1830's Detroit's culture was steadily reinforced by the culture brought by the New England emigrants. Pushing beyond Detroit, they peopled most of the southern one-third of the new state by 1840. There, too, they planted their institutions.⁸

The Detroit Young Men's Society was one of them. A New England root was transplanted to Michigan in the Old Northwest. In its new soil it was to grow vigorously, flower, and mature; and, finally, after fifty years, give way to newer organizational mutations of its own cultural evolution.

The seven young fathers of the new organization in 1832 were a remarkable group. Each was to leave his imprint upon the history of his community and state. There was the many-sided Douglass Houghton; the future U.S. Senator, Jacob Howard; Franklin Sawyer, Jr., one of the early editors of the *Detroit Advertiser*; George E. Hand; Charles W. Penny; Sidney S. Haskins; and Silas Titus.

Charles Penny, writing from Jackson in 1855 to Francis Raymond, recalled the events and early formative meetings, the first of which was held in the office of General Charles Larned on Woodward Avenue near Larned Street.⁹ This first gathering of a small group of young men was not for the purpose of organizing a society. It was more in the nature of an informal bull session, and they drifted into "discussing the paucity of activity to entertain the mind." With the coming of winter and the freezing of the lakes the port of Detroit could be an isolated and lonely town for restless young men.

Near the end of the year the same young men met again, this time in the office of the John S. Clark and Company store on

⁶Bodie, *The American Lyceum*, 90.

⁷J. S. Noffsinger, *Correspondence Schools, Lyceums and Chautauquas*, 99 (New York, 1926). Holbrook is generally conceded to be the father of the American lyceum movement.

⁸D. R. Fox, *Sources of Culture in the Middle West* (New York, 1943).

⁹Letter from C. W. Penny, Founder and Charter Member, on the origin of "The Young Men's Society", in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 12:370-72 (Lansing, 1888).

Jefferson near Griswold. The discussion was resumed until one of them proposed the formation of a society which would have as its purpose the "general diffusion of knowledge and condensation of talent and acquirements of the young men of Detroit and for their intellectual and moral development and improvement."¹⁰

One of the first actions taken was to choose the intellectual and moral sounding motto: *Vertuti et Literis*. Certainly living up to such a motto would go a long way towards solving the problem of "the paucity of activity to entertain the mind."

Shortly after the first of the year (1833), the group met again, this time to organize formally and to elect officers. They gathered in the old assembly hall of Fort Shelby which was then being used as the session room of the First Presbyterian Church. Apparently all those who had taken part in the original discussion were rewarded with an office, for, in addition to six regular officers, seven managers for the new project were elected. Heading the list as first president was Franklin Sawyer, Jr.; Douglass Houghton was elected vice-president; George E. Hand was chosen as corresponding secretary; John Preston Scott, recording secretary; Sidney S. Haskins, treasurer; and William H. Wells, auditor. The elected managers, who probably made up the bulk of the active rank and file members present, were: Charles W. Penny, John W. Hunter, Aaron B. Rowles, Silas Titus, Silas P. Griswold, Henry M. Roby, and Ira Van Nortwick.

Charles Penny, in his letter to Francis Raymond, states that "the whole thing was originated in a boyish idea of small pecuniary speculation." When the ice closed in on the lakes in the fall of 1831 and stopped navigation (he had come to Detroit for the winter), he found it an isolated city of 4,000, secluded from the outside world. The young clerks who conducted the affairs of the fort "had little business and no amusements." Hearing that one Stephen Wells, a book dealer, had books to rent, Charles Penny spent one shilling and sixpence rental for each of two volumes of *Ivanhoe*.

One evening Silas P. Griswold came into the store where Penny was clerking and Penny suggested that they each put five dollars into a fund together with three others and use the twenty-five dollars to purchase books. The books could be "passed around or

¹⁰*Directory of The City of Detroit*, compiled by Julius P. B. MacCabe, 33 (Detroit, 1837).

loaned and divided among the five participating members, costing no more than rentals." The two agreed to meet the next evening in the store of Phineas Davis to form a cooperative book purchasing and lending association to be known as the Young Men's Society. Following this meeting in Phineas Davis' store, they adjourned for a week having decided to publish notices of the next meeting in the *Courier*. The *Courier* was edited by young Franklin Sawyer, Jr., who became interested in the proposed organization, giving it space in his paper to the extent that he was drafted or elected, without opposition,¹¹ the first president.

From the beginning the society began to build its library. In addition, the young men—and women, too—found that the weekly Friday night meetings gave them an opportunity to air their literary or oratorical talents.¹² The proceedings of the early years are important for they clearly indicate the first stage in the life cycle of this cultural institution.

The society had come into being to fill a very definite cultural need of the small northwestern community that was Detroit in the 1830's. As democratic as any New England town meeting, the society's members managed their own affairs in open meeting. Probably without realizing it, they had transplanted a shoot of Holbrook's New England lyceum to Detroit, pruning it to grow with their own local needs.

The literary papers read before the society were authored by its own members. The subjects of the debates were chosen in open meetings and all of the debaters were young clerks, embryo lawyers, and politicians. The latter, after a busy week reading law in some stuffy office, found the Friday night meetings an excellent forum from which they could exercise their tongue and measure their mental capacities.

The topics debated or discussed are revealing of the kinds of

¹¹Letter from C. W. Penny on "The Young Men's Society," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 12:370-71.

¹²From the unpublished proceedings it is quite clear that as the original "young men" began to grow older, marry, and acquire families they found it sometimes difficult to attend the society's Friday night stag meetings. The dilemma seems to have been resolved by granting women a sort of second class citizen status. They were allowed to accompany husbands and male friends to debates and lectures. They were never allowed to vote or join in the business affairs of the organization.

questions that occupied the minds of Detroit's citizens in the first half of the nineteenth century. The growing humanitarian impulse of the 'thirties is reflected in the topic "Ought Public Executions Be Abolished?" A question straight out of the Age of Jackson is "Are Senators Bound by Instructions from the Legislature?" The eternal problem of the West over monetary policies is seen in "Has the Increase of Precious Metals by the Discovery of the Mines in Mexico and South America Been Beneficial?"

The War of 1812 must have been still in the minds of Detroiters of that day as they gazed across the river and international boundary, for in the *Bradish Papers* is a leaflet titled "Notice of a Debate, December 30, 1837," which advertises the society's debate for that date: "Have the probabilities that the Government of the United States will be permanent increased in the last twenty-five years?"¹³ No record of how that question was resolved has been found.

For those of a historical and classical bent, there was the debate, "Have the Crusades been Beneficial?" Then, there was the rather risque topic, "Is the Effect of the Drama Good?" No doubt the young men in pursuit of culture to fill "the paucity of activity to entertain the mind" found in favor of the affirmative on that one.

The society followed a set pattern of procedure in these debates and discussions. A question was usually suggested from the floor at one of the meetings. Referred to a committee of three, it was reported at a subsequent meeting, two signing one side of the question, the third the other. The question for debate then became, "Should the report of the majority be adopted?" Three debaters for the affirmative and three for the negative were appointed by the president. All decisions were by vote of the society itself.

Not all of the forensics were debates. A good many lectures were given by Douglass Houghton on anatomy, geology, and geography. Another member, Jacob Merritt Howard, lectured on Polish history; and talks on astronomy and elocution were given by John M. Bel-lows. A lecture on "Early Literature of the United States" was given by Henry Whiting. But the lecture of the first president, Franklin Sawyer, Jr., on "The History of the Drama," seems to have touched off the debate referred to above on the question of whether the drama was good or bad for the public morals.

¹³Bradish Papers in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

Early in its life the Young Men's Society acquired several hundred books formerly belonging to the Detroit City Library Association. Added to the library of the fast-growing society, they were kept in the store of Horace Hallock for use of the members. The collection was open twice a week for two hours each time.

By March, 1836, the society seemed to be of sufficient permanence to be incorporated by the state legislature. The act of incorporation established the officers of the society, and set the date for their election on the first Monday of July. It permitted the society to hold property to the amount of \$25,000.

After incorporation, in April, the society adopted new bylaws. These were published in a pamphlet, together with a list of members, and the articles of incorporation. An original copy resides in the Burton Historical Collection along with the revised edition of 1843.

In the year following its incorporation Julius P. B. MacCabe, in his *Directory of the City of Detroit, 1837*, had the following to say about the five-year-old Society.

Its object was the general diffusion of knowledge and a condensation of the talents and acquirements of the young men of Detroit for intellectual and moral improvement. It has been with few exceptions well sustained; its lectures and debates have for the most part been characterized by deep thought, acquirement, and research; and a library well selected of 600 volumes, united with the weekly exercises seem well calculated to meet the end desired in its formation. It comprises now 300 members, professional mercantile and mechanical, all uniting in the acquisition of knowledge and a desire for personal improvement.¹⁴

One of the early constitutional problems the Young Men's Society had was one common to all organization who affix the word "young" to their name: What to do with members who grow older in an organization incorporated as "Young Men." The problem was deftly solved by saying nothing about the ages of the members at the time of incorporation but adopting a rule restricting all new members to men not over thirty years of age. New applicants, if they were over thirty, were placed on an "honorary roll." At the time the bylaws were adopted in April, 1836, there were 172 regular and 46 honorary members.

¹⁴*Directory of the City of Detroit*, compiled by J. P. B. MacCabe, 32-33 (Detroit, 1837).

When the first election was held under the new Articles of Incorporation on July 4, 1836, two of the original seven founders were chosen president and vice president: George E. Hand and Silas Titus. July 4, 1836, however, was a memorable day in the history of the society for another reason. It was then that Governor Stevens T. Mason and the Territorial Judges presented the society with a lot on Woodward Avenue. The Young Men's Society had arrived. The gift of the lot was a measure of the importance the community placed on the role of the fledgling institution.

Becoming a property owner, however, brought certain headaches to the officers, for the society was plunged immediately into a lawsuit disputing the title to the lot. Whether or not the "certain persons" who brought the suit had a case or not has been impossible to ascertain. But either they didn't have a valid case or they grossly underestimated the community standing of a society of young men who had been presented with a piece of property by a governor and three Federal judges. They lost the suit.

By 1842 the records of the society show that the membership had grown to 338 "regulars" and 67 "honorary" members, and that the library now had 1,350 volumes. Semiannual dues were imposed with expulsion the penalty for nonpayment.

The problem of the ages of the members was again becoming troublesome and a temporary two-point solution was adopted. First, the limiting age was advanced to 35 years. Second, upon the payment of three dollars annually, Detroit citizens, regardless of age, could use the facilities of the library.¹⁵

During the late 1840's the lot on Woodward was disposed of and a more desirable one was purchased on Jefferson. Construction of a fine three-story brick building was begun, and during the winter of 1850 the society moved into its new home which cost \$8,500. The society rented space to two stores on the ground floor for \$400 apiece annually. The second floor contained the meeting hall, and the third the library and reading room. Library hours had been extended; they were 11 A.M. to 12:30 P.M., 3 P.M. to 5 P.M., and again in the evenings from 7 P.M. to 9 P.M.

¹⁵Letter from Henry Walden to Senator William Woodbridge, December 20, 1844, in the Woodbridge Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

During the late 1840's and early 1850's debates and lectures by local Detroiters still provided most of the activities of the society aside from its functioning library.

The Rev. John G. Alterbury opened the 1847 series on January 5 with his lecture, "The Law of Reproduction in Human Character, Illustrated and Applied." On January 12 there was a debate—the subject, "Was the Execution of Louis XVI Justifiable?" Leading the negative, which heatedly argued that the spilling of Louis' blood could not be justified, was the Honorable Zachariah Chandler. Fourteen years later, on the eve of Fort Sumter, Chandler as United States Senator was to write a private letter to Austin Blair, governor of Michigan. In it Chandler said, "Without a little blood letting, this union will not in my estimation be worth a rush."¹⁶

This is not intended to be discursive. The change in Zachariah Chandler serves but to emphasize the great changes that were to take place in Detroit and the nation during these fourteen years which saw the coming of the Civil War and the disruption of American democracy. During those years the Detroit Young Men's Society provided the forum from which the great issues and questions of the day were aired. These were the golden years for the society.

On February 9, 1847, a bare few months after David Wilmot first introduced his proviso, the society was witnessing a debate (reported by the *Free Press*): "Ought the Government to prohibit the extension of slavery over all territory that may be hereafter annexed to the U. S.?"

Even Loco-Focoism and parts of the land reform program of George Henry Evans were debated. On January 26, 1847, the subject for debate as carried in the *Free Press* could have been straight from Evans' *Working Man's Advocate*. The *Working Man's Advocate*, a New York weekly of the 1830's and 1840's with a circulation to editors, Whig and Democratic politicians throughout the Northwest, called in its fifth "plank" for a measure to "abolish all laws for the collection of debts." The society's debate was titled "Should any part of a debtors real estate be exempt from execution?"

The year 1848 was another milestone in the history of the society. One of its members, Michigan's favorite son, General Lewis Cass,

¹⁶J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 206 (New York, 1937).

was making his ill-starred bid for the presidency of the United States on the Democratic ticket against General Zachary Taylor.

The society members raised by public subscription \$2,200 for the purpose of presenting to the society a bust of Cass. The sculptor chosen was the early Midwestern artist, Thomas D. Jones. Born in Oneida County, New York, Jones had migrated west to Cincinnati in the 1830's, where he was a stone mason. Self-taught as an artist, Jones turned professional portrait sculptor and medallionist in the 'forties. He made his home for a while in Detroit, where he turned out all manner of busts, medallions, and tombstones.

Many a Midwesterner of national fame left for posterity one of Tom Jones's busts. In 1861 he carved one of the famous Lincoln busts. Following the Civil War he worked in New York and as far south as Nashville, Tennessee. He was one of the sculptors who raised marble and granite quarrying in Vermont to a major industry as the nation carved into the hard stone the heroic figures of the Civil War. Jones died in 1881, one year before the demise of the Young Men's Society which held one of his earliest and best works, the bust of Cass.¹⁷

In 1851 Alvah Bradish, the Detroit artist and later professor of art at the University of Michigan, presented the society with a portrait of Douglass Houghton, the society's second president.¹⁸ By 1854 the society was attempting to collect the portraits of all past presidents of the society.¹⁹

About this time two important events in the society's history took place: it became tax exempt, and the perennial problem of the age for membership was at last solved. A new bylaw was adopted granting life membership in the society upon the payment of \$25.00.

During the 'fifties the society's membership and library grew, but its other activities were slowly undergoing profound changes. The lyceum movement in the United States, and particularly in neighboring Ohio, from 1850 to 1860, was enjoying its golden years.²⁰

¹⁷New York Historical Society, *Dictionary of Artists in America* (New York, 1957).

¹⁸Letter from Alvah Bradish to the Detroit Young Men's Society, January 15, 1851, in the Bradish Papers, Burton Historical Collection.

¹⁹Letter from George S. Frost to Alvah Bradish, June 8, 1854, in the Bradish Papers, Burton Historical Collection.

²⁰Bodie, *The American Lyceum*.

During this ten-year period Ohio had constructed nearly three thousand miles of railroad, connecting itself with its cultural roots in New England, and with the fast developing industrial Northeast.²¹ In the same period Michigan built eight hundred miles of railroads, most of it in the southeastern part of the state. During the winter months the railroads brought an almost continuous flow of Yankee eloquence to the Midwest. With the completion of the Great Western Railway, Michigan was joined to the lyceum network. The Detroit Young Men's Society began to feel its effect. Debates among local members of the society began to dwindle until in 1858 only three were held. The railroads were beginning to have a nationalizing effect—even on culture, for in that year they brought fifteen eloquent Yankees to audiences of the Young Men's Society in Detroit.

During this period, beginning in 1856, the lawyers to whom the society had been a veritable school lost political control. They never completely regained it, although during the election of 1857 they were active in the hottest election in the society's history.

Two strong tickets opposed one another that year. The "Regulars" were headed by John Palmer while the opposition was led by Benjamin Vernor. During the campaign before election day, the records show that over five hundred new names were added to the roster. According to one account, the Vernor faction hid a large number of workers from the locomotive works in a neighboring store belonging to M. Howard Webster. They had intended to march them out just before the polls closed to vote for Vernor. However, due to an error in timing, the restless locomotive workers emerged too soon. The Palmerites were outraged. Soon the young men of Detroit's first families were scouring the printshops and saloons seeking working-class allies. Inasmuch as Detroit, then as now, had more printers and barflies than locomotive workers, John Palmer was declared winner by a vote of 413 to 369.²²

Palmer's term of office saw further changes to the society. Receipts went up; the library increased to 3,254 volumes; and the number of books circulated doubled over the previous year, hitting the figure

²¹George R. Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860*, 79 (New York, 1951).

²²This account is from an unpublished paper by Alfred J. Freitag, "The Detroit Young Men's Society," in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

of 7,332. A historical committee was created whose work resulted in the organization of the Michigan State Historical Society, but the number of debates and lectures fell off appreciably.

James Pittman was elected president in 1858, giving the society one of its most efficient administrators. Under Pittman the Articles of Incorporation were changed so that the society could own up to \$200,000 worth of property. This paved the way for the erection of a new building. Construction was begun in 1861 on a lot behind the old Biddle House which gave access to Jefferson Avenue.²³

Following the Civil War, the Young Men's Society entered the third and final phase of its life cycle. Modern America was emerging from the war and Michigan and Detroit began to feel the first great stirrings of rapid industrial development and urbanization. Old community structures of a social or cultural nature which didn't or couldn't adapt to the emerging modern world fell on evil days. The Young Men's Society was one of them.

Its reports during the late 1860's and 1870's show clearly that it had lost its intimate democratic community character. It had become a private club with an excellent library allowing limited community use. With its expanded property and holdings, the society began to find it more and more difficult to meet expenses. There were no more stimulating debates by the members and very few lectures.

The report of 1871 strikes a bitter note. The entertainment committee states that although eight fine lectures had been contracted for during the year with "very famous lecturers on the program," there had been "no response from the members." Some of these lecturers, the committee continues, were so offended that they said they would never appear again under the auspices of the Young Men's society. The committee recommended that all such programs be abandoned.

Things got worse. The new building had to be sold, and the library, now numbering 16,000 volumes, was moved to the Merrill block on the northeast corner of Jefferson and Woodward in August of 1875. Here it lingered until the summer of 1882 when it became apparent to all that the Detroit Young Men's Society could no longer

²³Agreement between Walter Ingersoll representing the Detroit Young Men's Society and C. Moran for a loan, in the Henkel Papers, Burton Historical Collection.

maintain itself. Sadly, the board of directors met in June and appointed a committee of three with full power to dispose of the library and fixtures and to settle the liabilities of the society. By September the committee had sold enough to pay all debts and had a balance of \$188.

The last meeting of the Detroit Young Men's Society was held September 30, 1882, almost exactly fifty years from its inception in the fall of 1831. The officers reported the results of the negotiations with the Detroit Public Library about the disposition of the society's holdings. A Mr. Coleman on behalf of the officers moved that the "remaining books belonging to the society be given to the public library."²⁴ He further moved that the furniture of the society be sold and the proceeds used to "purchase a suitable pedestal for the bust of General Cass, as a memorial of the Young Men's Society, to be kept in the Public Library."

Ex-Judge Cornelius J. Reilly, an old-time member of the society, replied to a number of queries from the floor. He recalled the early history of the Young Men's Society and dwelt at some length on the story of the Cass bust. He spoke of the proud citizens of Detroit in 1848 raising the \$2,200 for the sculptor, Jones, to create a bust of Detroit's favorite son, the Democratic candidate for president, General Lewis Cass.

Judge Reilly, speaking for the society's directors, said that they felt that the Cass bust, long a prized possession of the society, should be kept in Detroit. He reported that for the nominal consideration of \$100 the committee negotiating with the public library had sold the bust to the library. Almost as an afterthought he added that the \$100

²⁴The library of the Young Men's Society is supposed to have held some 4,000 volumes at the time of its disbandment. The annual report of 1875 gives its holdings as 16,000 volumes. However, the files of the Detroit Public Library show that it received nowhere near either of those amounts. The use of the words "remaining books" in the news story of the last meeting of the society (*Detroit Post and Tribune*, October 1, 1882) would seem to indicate that a good many of the original volumes of the society's library never reached the stacks of the Detroit Public Library. Either they were sold to help pay off the debts of the society or they ended up in the home libraries of some of the disbanding members. If so, it would have been entirely in line with the intent of Charles Penny and Silas Griswold when they decided to found the Young Men's Society in 1831 for the purpose of purchasing, loaning, and dividing books among the participating members. See *Michigan Historical Collections*, 12:371.

also included the price of the "oil portraits of the ex-presidents of the society" and the "files of the Detroit newspapers published since 1816."

A motion was put to accept the report, and another followed to adjourn the meeting, *sine die*. The Detroit Young Men's Society, for all practical purposes, came to an end.

For years the oil portraits hung in the rooms of the Detroit Public Library. Today there are only two left. Cracked and faded, the society's paintings of Cass and Woodbridge lie covered in the library's basement. Many of the painting were done by unknown itinerant artists who traveled from community to community during the nineteenth century painting local celebrities. They were none too careful of the quality of their canvas or in the mixing of their paints, and the library, which had little in the way of funds for their preservation or restoration, could not preserve the portraits.

In 1949 the Detroit Public Library turned over to the Detroit Historical Museum its collection of some forty "miscellaneous portraits of early Detroit citizens." Of these only six can be clearly identified as having been in the original gift of the Young Men's Society to the Detroit Public Library in the late 1880's. Five of the six, those of James Valentine Campbell, Douglass Houghton, Henry Nelson Walker, Edward Carey Walker, and Jacob Merritt Howard are in storage.²⁵

The sixth, a fine portrait by Michigan's famed artist, Alvah Bradish, of the society's first president Franklin Sawyer, Jr., has been recently restored and reframed by the Detroit Historical Museum. Hanging on a wall of the stairway of the industrial hall in the museum, it bears a simple card:

Franklin Sawyer, Jr.
Editor of Several Detroit Newspapers.
Second State Superintendent of Public
Instruction.

by
Alvah Bradish
Gift of the Young Men's Society

²⁵Ulveling-Brown Correspondence, 1949, Acquisition files, Detroit Historical Museum.

Today, as one runs through the society's list of officers or thumbs its membership lists he is impressed by the fact that the names read remarkably like a page from a 1958 Detroit Street Directory. Or when read aloud to any student of Michigan political history, the names sound like a roll call of the Michigan delegation to Congress or Detroit's delegation to the state capitol during the years 1832 to 1882.

The society's files of early Detroit newspapers and the remains of its once proud library are now priceless parts of the Burton Historical Collection. The society's stern-faced bust with the four chiseled letters C A S S, still awaits some appropriate plaque to carry out the intent of the last wishes of the society for "a memorial of the Young Men's Society, to be kept in the Public Library."²⁶

²⁶The Burton Historical Collection and the Cass bust, upon completion of the new additions to the Detroit Public Library in 1961, will be housed on the ground floor of the new North wing. Editor's Note: Through the generosity of Mr. Jeffrey, a plaque for the Cass bust is now being prepared. Mr. Jeffrey turned over his Whittaker cash award to the Detroit Public Library for the plaque.

Michigan Oil² and the New Deal

Darrell H. Pollard

THE BIRTH OF THE NORTH AMERICAN oil industry, according to most petroleum historians, dates from the completion of the Drake well, Oil Creek, Pennsylvania, in August 1859.¹ Vying for honors with Pennsylvania is a Canadian claim which places the birthplace of North America's first successful oil well in the village of Oil Springs, twenty miles southeast of Sarnia. The date, Canadian experts contend, was 1857, a year or so before the Drake discovery.²

During the winter of 1860 and 1861 the Oil Springs field expanded considerably and as the news of the Canadian field appeared in Michigan newspapers local oil-seekers became excited. The discovery of oil in commercial quantities so few miles from the state border aroused optimism concerning the possibility of similar fields in Michigan.

In 1864, a few years after the Oil Springs success in Canada, the first prospecting took place around Port Huron. However, it wasn't until 1898 that a serious attempt to develop a commercial pool materialized. From 1898 to 1916 there were numerous, though rather sporadic, drillings for oil in the Port Huron and St. Clair sectors. Except for the holdings of George B. Stock of Port Huron, none of these attempts to find a profitable field was successful. The Stock wells continued to operate until 1920 when the expanding population of Port Huron drove real estate prices up to such a level that the value of the company's land surpassed the income of its oil production and the wells were abandoned.³

From Port Huron Michigan's "divining rod" bent toward Saginaw. Even though an attempt to locate oil in Saginaw around 1912 had failed, many believed the failure resulted from technique rather

¹Paul H. Giddens, *The Birth of the Oil Industry*; xiv. (New York, 1938). For a general bibliography of the birth of the oil industry in the United States, see Paul H. Giddens, *Beginnings of Oil Industry* (Harrisburg, 1941).

²"Oil Birthplace Found in Canada", *Detroit Free Press*, section C, 6, October 23, 1955.

³Helen M. Martin, "Have we enough Oil?" in *Michigan Conservation*, 3 (September, 1942).

than from lack of oil. In May, 1925, the Saginaw Prospecting company was formed to prospect for petroleum and almost singlehandedly was responsible for the "oil boom" which lasted until 1928.

The "divining rod" swung westward and reached across the state toward Muskegon. Here, in 1926, Stanley L. Daniloff, a Bulgarian-born tailor with little formal education and no previous experience in the oil industry convinced himself by a process of non-scientific reasoning that there was oil beneath the soil of Muskegon. Daniloff was wise enough to seek professional advice in locating his company's first well. The phenomenal success of his Muskegon Development Company created a "boom town" atmosphere in Muskegon, and resulted in the city not only developing a fair sized oil field, but, at least temporarily, becoming the center of Michigan's refining activity.

It was central Michigan, however, which brought the state national recognition as an oil producer. A large number of wells drilled in conjunction with the lumber and chemical industries furnished the structural information which led to the discovery of several central state oil fields. It is one of these, the Porter field in Midland County, that occupied the center of the stage as Michigan's oil drama unfolded during the early 1930's.

Porter township first appeared in the records of Michigan's oil history in late August, 1931. However, it was not until March two years later that it became evident it would be many a day before accounts of oil activity in this new field would cease challenging the attention of reporters across the state. In early March, 1933, the *Midland Republican* headline jubilantly announced the "Otway Gusher Opens New Porter Oil Field". By mid-July the *Oil and Gas Journal* optimistically predicted that although twenty-three wells had already been completed and twenty-five more were in the process of being drilled, developments in Porter Township had just begun. Walter L. McClanahan, noted Michigan oil man, practically singlehandedly caused this prediction to border on the understatement of the year. His Hathaway #1 well produced 5,000 barrels of oil every twenty-four hours, and as July came to a close the *Isabella County Times News* reported that the Hathaway had produced 110,000 barrels in thirty-five days.

The Porter field had definitely stolen the petroleum "honors" from the rest of the state and the inhabitants of Midland could finally point to their county as the state's leading producer. The Porter discovery also helped move the state up among the leading oil producers of the nation. Michigan stood seventh in crude oil production in the entire nation for the first six months of 1933.⁴

Central Michigan had become recognized as the state's most prolific source of oil, and Michigan had worked its way into the ranks of respected oil producers during the very period when both the state and the nation were experiencing our history's worst depression. Thus, while Michigan's oil fields were expanding and the state's petroleum business as a whole began to blossom, the national government initiated steps which were to affect the local scene — Porter in particular, and the state in general.

An important objective of the Roosevelt New Deal program was the bettering of business conditions across the nation. The National Industrial Recovery Act was passed calling for the creation of trade associations to aid the federal government in its regulation of various business activities. In June, 1933, oil men of nineteen states, representatives of producers organizations, met in Chicago in the greatest gathering ever known to the petroleum industry.⁵ The purpose was to create and adopt a code of fair competition within the industry.

Michigan had a number of representatives at the meeting many of whom were optimistic in the belief that such a code would operate to the advantage of their infant oil state. Walter Russell, delegate of the Oil and Gas Producers Association of Michigan, stated that the code would prove a boon to the state's oil business. As Michigan fields were in the process of maturing, he claimed that any proration limits would probably not apply to Michigan and that the protection derived from the code would aid in the development

⁴Daily accounts of the Porter field development are recorded in the special oil sections of the *Isabella County Times News* and the *Midland Republican* for 1933.

⁵Michigan men present were Haswell Grant and Walter Russell, Michigan Oil and Gas Association; Virgil R. D. Kirkcomb, Michigan and Pacific Oil and Gas company; Fred Scheid, Columbia Independents; Howard Atha, Gordon Oil; and W. Hunter Atha, Sr., Atha Producing company.

of local refineries. In fact, he intimated that rumors were widespread that several Texas refineries were about ready to survey the Michigan fields.

The Chicago convention appointed a committee of fifty-two men to consult with the federal government and draw up a suitable code. The committee was composed of twenty-six representatives of major oil companies and twenty-six representatives of smaller independent organizations. The code which was drawn up was quite detailed but its major provisions dealt with the elimination of unfair competition, the insurance of conservation of petroleum resources, plans to eliminate unfair trade practices, to increase employment, to establish fair and adequate wages, to enlarge purchasing power of persons related to the industry, to improve standards of labor and to protect the public from exorbitant prices.⁶

With the completion of the proposed code it became necessary for the state associations to adhere to the code in order to make it effective. The Michigan Oil and Gas Producers Association met on July 5 at the courthouse in Mount Pleasant to determine whether they would adopt the new Code of Fair Practices for the Petroleum Industry. After a two hour debate, those present voted to go on record as expressing a general approval of the code, but decided to reconvene a week later to go over the code in greater detail.

At the subsequent meeting the code was adopted unanimously on motion by Dr. Virgil Kirkcomb, with the proviso inserted at the request of Charles L. Maguire which read:

Whereas the petroleum industry in Michigan is in its infancy and present production is not sufficient to meet the refining and marketing requirements of the state; whereas, we believe that production in Michigan should not be restricted until such production is sufficient to meet refining and marketing requirements; Therefore be it resolved that no restrictions or limitations be placed upon Michigan production of petroleum or upon the drilling of wildcat wells in Michigan until such time as the production in our state approximates the requirements of the refining and consuming markets therein.⁷

As a part of the code called for the control of excess production, and although not outlawing wildcat wells at least discouraging them,

⁶*Michigan Oil and Gas News*, June 20, 1933.

⁷*Isabella County Times News*, July 13, 1933; *Michigan Oil and Gas News*, July 11, 1933.

the Michigan producers were trying to insure for themselves the protective measures of the code and at the same time provide an out whereby their state would not be regulated by these very same restrictions. If not outright naiveté, it at least exhibited wishful thinking on the part of Michigan's representatives.

Late in July, oil men from all over the nation were called to Washington for a formal hearing on the code. If the impending code accomplished nothing else, it convinced most of the state's oil men of the advantage of belonging to some association and of keeping that association active and alert to changing conditions. At an August meeting of the Michigan association an address by Philip N. Faine, a member of the newly created Nation Coordinating Committee, included the following advice:

We discovered in Washington that any producer, royalty owner, or marketer, is virtually without the protection of the code unless a member of an association. The Board of Administrators at Washington can not go into the details of every producer or marketer's grievances, but will refer these problems back to the association of which he should be a member for solution.⁸

Thus a warning was issued to local oil producers that if they desired a voice in the regulation of their industry they had better affiliate themselves with local petroleum associations.

An integral part of the New Deal philosophy was the control of production in order to drive prices upward. With President Roosevelt's signature on August 19, 1933, indicating his approval of the code, one of the first decisions of the Petroleum Administrator, Harold L. Ickes, was to establish a production quota for each of the oil states. Under the code, it was arranged that each month the United States Bureau of Mines would estimate, by states, the production that would meet market demand. These quotas, approved by the administrator, were sent to the state enforcing agency, such as the Michigan Oil and Gas Producer's Association.⁹

When the Michigan oil men were debating affiliation with the national movement, one of the arguments which had been advanced in favor of such regulation was that it would hold down the heavy

⁸*Michigan Oil and Gas News*, August 29, 1933.

⁹Lewis Mayers, ed., *A Handbook of NRA Laws*, 234 (Washington, D.C., 1933). Also, see Harvey O'Connor, *The Empire of Oil*, 66-67 (New York, 1955).

producing states and allow the new oil producers to develop their potential. However, the first proration schedule allowed Michigan very little room for expansion. A week before the schedule went into effect, six new Porter discoveries raised the daily production in the state to 29,400 barrels of oil. On September 7, 1933, the production quotas published by Administrator Ickes listed Michigan as tenth with a daily allowable production of 30,000 barrels, only 600 barrels more than the already attained daily production potential.

Although Michigan producers were disappointed with this narrow expansion margin, they recognized that other states were limited by similar restrictions. One favorable result of the publication of the quota was an increase in crude prices across the nation. Within a week, two price boosts in Michigan jumped the price of crude twenty cents per barrel and brought the total to 90 cents. This increased income from the sale of petroleum took part of the sting out of the restrictive proration schedule and started the regulation of the state's oil fields off on a fairly harmonious note.

While these national rules were being formulated, local petroleum development continued unabated. A summary of central Michigan's oil industry for the first three-quarters of 1933 revealed that the state had made amazing headway. After an early start in March with the discovery of the Otway well, the Porter field quickly developed into the state's leading producer. Forty wells were completed from March to August, with an aggregate initial flow of 45,200 barrels each day.

In September, 1933, the Blue Eagle of NRA began to spread its wings. The shadow fell heavily upon Michigan's productive Porter pool. A committee of seven, representing every interest of the petroleum industry—production, refining, marketing, etc.—was selected by the executive committee of the Oil and Gas Association and designated as the Michigan Planning and Coordinating Committee. In addition, another group, the Michigan Proration Committee went into action by mailing forms to all Porter producers. The forms explained the allowable production for each Porter well capable of producing one hundred barrels or more of oil.

By the latter part of September the production totals had so increased it looked as if the entire Porter field would have to be

completely shut down in order to keep the state's daily output within the 30,000 barrel quota. An order was drawn by the regulatory board calling for immediate suspension of all drilling in Porter township, but this met with widespread opposition. In answer to the question as to why Michigan was allocated only 30,000 barrels when it was capable of producing so much more, James C. Graves, chairman of the committee, stated, "No one can be blamed. When Michigan was asked to suggest an allocation for itself, it requested what was double its production at that time. This was the 30,000 barrel allotment which we now have."¹⁰

In a way, the real culprit was the Porter field which became so productive and caused the 30,000 allowable figure to become only a fraction of what could be produced from the state's oil wells. As a result, further field development began to slacken. In early October, for the first time since Porter Township became the major producing region in Michigan, no new permits to drill were recorded, and for two weeks only six permits were issued in the entire state.

With the sobering realization of what the future would probably offer, a new production schedule was prepared by the local board effective over all fields in the state, although the flush Porter field continued to endure the tightest squeeze. The new quota, applying to all wells producing one hundred barrels or more a day, allowed a 40 per cent withdrawal from wells in the 100 to 500 barrel class, a 35 per cent withdrawal from wells producing between 500 and 1,000, 30 per cent for 1,000 to 2,000 barrel wells, and 25 per cent for wells with a potential of over 2,000 barrels.

Old man "irony" reared his ugly head and within a week of the new restrictions eleven wells were brought in, elevating the Porter potential some 17,000 barrels more per day. Immediately, the regulatory committee convened and a new order was issued, calling for a blanket 30 per cent withdrawal for all Michigan wells producing a potential of over one hundred barrels a day. Pessimism mounted as rumors of another national allowable reduction spread among the oil states. Such a reduction could only increase the already pressing problem of Michigan's mounting production level, so on November 7, the local proration board met to prepare for

¹⁰*Michigan Oil and Gas News*, September 29, 1933.

the worst. They decided to issue a new quota, setting the proration for all wells above the one hundred barrel mark at a 20 per cent allowable.¹¹

In spite of these attempts to discourage further field development, headlines in local newspapers around the Porter field continued to herald rising production. Such banners as "Porter Potential Nears 70,000 Mark," "Campbell Gauged at 370 Barrels an Hour," or "Three Porter Wells Add 3,100 Barrels to Potential" must have appeared in the nightmares of Graves and other board members. Steps were taken by the proration board to petition Washington for an increase in the state's allowable crude oil production. No tentative estimates were released, but the state's potential ran nearly three times its ration and was definitely out of line with that of other nearby states.

The year 1933, which had begun so brightly, ended on a somber note. The state's oil fields were potentially more productive than at any time in the history of the industry, but they weren't able to prove it. During the last three months of the year 90 new oil wells were completed, raising the aggregate calculated initial production to around 120,000 barrels a day, but effective December 1, the federal proration allotment was reduced to 29,000 barrels.

In light of the increased potential production, this new limitation was extremely discouraging and became even more so when petitions for redress accomplished nothing. The Michigan Producers Proration Committee filed a petition with the federal government calling attention to the fact that the allotment was hampering the state's oil business and was contrary to the plan of regulation discussed when the code was being considered for adoption. There is no doubt that it was decidedly different from the glowing prediction of those who felt that proration would aid but not hinder the infant oil business of Michigan.

The federal government lent a deaf ear to Michigan's plea, announcing that not only would all states be expected to hold to their restrictions, but that in order to facilitate enforcement of the code, a division of investigation was being created. Under this new ar-

¹¹*Michigan Oil and Gas News*, October 10, October 17, October 31, 1933. See also, *Midland Republican*, October 19, 1933.

rangement the nation was divided into eighteen districts with Michigan in district nine, along with Ohio.

The federal government's decision on the proration plea forced the Michigan proration committee to command another reduction. On December 26 the production allowance was lowered to 10 per cent. In early January it was further reduced to 7 per cent, and on February 16, the committee announced what it hoped would be the final reduction of local production: henceforth the allowable for wells producing over 100 barrels was 2 per cent.

By the latter part of February, 1934, some relief was in sight as petroleum czar Harold Ickes allowed an increase in daily production across the nation. Total national production was increased 99,800 barrels. The increased allocation added a mere 300 barrels per day to Michigan's quota, but many interpreted it as a sign that the future would witness further loosening of restrictions. Partially as a result of the slight increase and partially due to general optimism concerning the future, the local proration committee upped the well allocation to 5 per cent of the potential of each "pinched-in" well.

Early 1934 witnessed a development which was partially the result of the proration program. The shutting down of well production hit the small producer exceedingly hard. As he often operated on a shoestring budget, he was not able to drill and then hang back to await future market developments. This situation also made it difficult for the small operator to promote his interests by the sale of stock, as he had little to offer prospective investors except outright speculation. On February 6, 1934, the following statement appeared in the *Michigan Oil and Gas News*, under the heading "Independent Oil Producers and Promoters Organize."

Over the invisible grapevine that roots itself in the weather-beaten edifices of Detroit's Griswold Street and winds itself northwestward to the state's capitol comes the whispering that the promotional interests of Michigan's great and growing oil industry are to unite themselves into an association for the furtherance of their groups interests.

No small part of this promotional move was based on a dislike for the larger oil companies which controlled so much of the state's oil interests, plus the fact already mentioned that the proration limitation worked a decided hardship upon the small operator whose

limited capital reserve prevented him from holding on until "better days were here again." To many the existing association was too favorable to the larger concerns, and hence a move was made to remedy the situation. A huge ad was placed in the state's trade journals calling upon all who desired to protect Michigan's resources from foreign corporations and predatory interests, to unite under the banner of the newly formed Michigan Independents Oil and Gas Association.

There was immediate reaction to the new society. One of the more interesting retorts was expounded in a speech given by state geologist Richard A. Smith, entitled, "Beware of Promotion."¹²

Michigan is going to be an oil state for a long time, but unfortunately there is considerable wildcat speculation in our fields. In my work at Lansing I have examined thousands of oil and mineral promotion schemes and most of the stocks presented were worth about 60 cents a pound, representing the value of the rag stock from which the paper was made for printing the certificates.

Michigan has no past history in oil and gas development and up to eight years ago the possibilities of developing the underground wealth were considered remote. But today we know this mine of liquid dollars is quite likely to bring us one of our greatest industries. The average Michigan resident is intrigued when he hears of some landowner in the oil belt turned into a millionaire overnight, but he must not forget that for every one as fortunate as this, there are a thousand who go broke seeking the same source of wealth.

Next to college professors, school teachers have proven the most susceptible to the wiles of the oil and gas stock salesman, due undoubtedly to their lack of good business judgment.

If investors would exercise the same good common sense successful business men do in conducting their own affairs, and not jump at every stock selling scheme, there would be less grief in the future.

It was undoubtedly poor judgment on Smith's part to lump all stock sales into one group without discrimination, and his statement brought criticism upon him to the effect that he was obviously in the pay of the major oil companies.

The new association went into action on a local level to defeat the passage of legislation which it believed harmful to independents and to small investors in Michigan oil resources. Senate Bill No. 30, introduced by Senator Edward D. McKenna of Detroit,

¹²*Michigan Oil and Gas News*, February 20, 1934.

sought to set up a state NRA code with a state administrator. It was rumored that this bill was fostered by the Pure Oil Company to prevent possible breakdown of the enforcement of the code in Michigan insofar as it affected the daily allowable quota. A federal court case in Texas holding the national code void insofar as intra-state business was concerned upset a number of Michigan oil men and the proposed law was an attempt to assure continuation of control.¹³ As a result of pressure brought to bear upon the legislature by the independents, this bill was killed in the Senate committee on state affairs.

As a part of their positive program a concurrent resolution petitioning the president to intervene with the officials of NRA to prevent the curtailment of the production of oil in Michigan to a point less than the consumption of oil in the state was sponsored by Senator Charles Asselin of Bay City, as a result of persuasion by the newly formed association. The resolution passed the Senate unanimously on March 15 and the House similarly the following day.¹⁴

The independents' demands became increasingly forceful and some minor changes were made in Michigan's system of proration by the state's proration committee, with a slight increase ordered in early May in all fields except Porter. The same month a letter was received by George A. Dondero, Congressional Representative from the Seventeenth District, in answer to the state Senate's joint resolution. The letter was signed by Harold Ickes and explained how the allowables were arrived at. Ickes stated that Michigan was part of a district which included Indiana, Illinois, and several other states. The balance between production and demand was not determined within a single state, but was related to all states within a district and even several districts. Thus, as one of the states within the area had a decided increase in production without an overall increase in market demand, that state necessarily found its daily allowable reduced. Once again attempts by local producers to get relief from federal regulation resulted in failure.

Except for one slight increase in June as a result of the gradual

¹³*Panama Refining company v. Ryan*. 293 U.S. 388, 55 S. Ct. 241, 79 L. Ed. 446 (1935).

¹⁴*Michigan Oil and Gas News*, March 21, 1934.

seasonal increase in oil consumption, both the national and state proration figures remained low throughout the summer of 1934. The state's production potential increased at a rate considerably higher than the summer increase in oil consumption and forced the allowable down instead of up. It was not until December, 1934, that the trend reversed itself and both state and national restrictions were eased.

In early 1935, the United States Supreme Court in an eight to one vote with Charles E. Hughes writing the opinion, held that empowering the president to prohibit the interstate transportation of oil in amounts exceeding the state's production allotment was an unconstitutional delegation of legislative authority by Congress to the executive.

The decision virtually wrecked crude oil proration in the various states and meant there would be no limit to the quantity each district might produce. With this decision and the eventual elimination of the NRA program following the *Schlechter* case in the same year, proration came to an end and the bursting dam of the Porter field was released to drive the state's oil production upward, enabling it eventually to become the leading oil producing state east of the Mississippi.

Although the New Deal regulations were instituted to sustain a sagging economy and to give a shot in the arm to faltering businesses, it actually appeared as a restraining force to the bustling young Michigan oil business. It interrupted the development of Michigan fields and cut back the producing wells of the state forcing local markets to purchase oil from western petroleum states. It sought to regulate the local industry through the Michigan Oil and Gas Producers Association which was accused by one element of being overly sympathetic to the larger producers point of view. It tended to divide the state's oil men into two camps forcing the smaller producers to organize the Independents Association for self protection. It created a political situation which found our state legislature bombarded by conflicting demands from these competing elements.

However, despite the stifling aspects of proration, 1934 witnessed a growth in Michigan's oil industry beyond anything previously experienced. Michigan had been an oil producing state for a little

more than nine years. In that span production had grown from 4,000 barrels a year to around 30,000 barrels a day. In 1933, according to United States Bureau of Mines reports, total production was approximately 7,942,000 barrels, while the first nine months of 1934 produced over 8,090,000 barrels. As will be remembered Michigan's oil production didn't reach commercial status until 1925. In the succeeding decade total production of oil had matured to a respectable figure of around 36,000,000 barrels.

Porter Township had shown itself to be the richest oil producing area to date. Its 153 producing wells completed in 1934 with an aggregate initial production of 200,270 barrels per day, had a daily average of 1,309 barrels per well. During 1934 the completions had been at a rate of seventeen wells per month. Thus in spite of the restrictive controls of NRA, Porter Township had almost alone carried Michigan into the ranks of the more important oil producing states in the nation.

Russell A. Alger as Secretary of War

Jasper B. Reid, Jr.

RUSSELL A. ALGER, AS A YOUNG MAN, came to Detroit from his native state of Ohio where he had been admitted to the Bar. He had been orphaned at an early age and had worked to support himself and a sister while securing an education. During the Civil War, he served as a cavalry officer, rising to brevet major general in 1865. After the war, he amassed a large fortune from lumbering. In 1884, he was elected governor of Michigan. He was a "favorite son" candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1888. He served as national commander of the Grand Army of the Republic. As a McKinley supporter in 1896, he was rewarded with the cabinet position of Secretary of War.

When he took office in March, 1897, he was in his early sixties. He served until August, 1899. After his service in the cabinet, he was elected United States Senator from Michigan. His background was that of an enterprising man, a fighter, and a citizen of wide experience. His accomplishments would have suggested that as Secretary of War he would prove to be a more masterful executive than in fact he became.

He faced ferocious criticism as the stress of the Spanish-American War revealed the inadequacy and inefficiency of the War Department. The Brooklyn *Eagle*, for example, ran an editorial entitled "Medical Murders; Their Victims and Their Cause."¹ On May 29, 1898, C. W. Rhodes wrote the President that National Guardsmen from "good homes" were fed hardtack without butter, adding, "I can't see why they should be treated worse than the average well-to-do farmers treat their dogs or pigs."²

Secretary Alger, as an administrator, was confronted with many difficult situations. He had the problem of securing enactment of

¹Quoted in *Report of the Commission Appointed by the President to Investigate the Conduct of the War Department in the War with Spain*, 8:20 (56 Congress, 1 session, Senate Document No. 221) (Washington, D. C., 1900). There were eight volumes in this report and they will be cited hereafter as *War Investigating Commission*.

²*War Investigating Commission*, 8:3. Mr. Rhodes dealt in butter and cheese.

legislation and appropriations adequate to the needs of the War Department and the army. He had to see that capable officers and men were procured in sufficient numbers for the tasks facing the army. He had the problem of management of the staff departments and of the army. The army had to be housed and transported. The army had to be supplied, fed, and given adequate care.

On April 1, 1898, there were 2,143 officers and 26,040 men in the army. The Endicott Board had, in a report issued in 1885, called for the installation of 2,362 pieces of coast defense ordnance, but only 151 were in position.³ That relations with Spain were becoming worse was not unknown to the War Department. William L. Ellsworth, of the Artphrite (Smokeless) Gunpowder Company, wrote Secretary Alger January 31, 1898, that the Spanish government had ordered five million smokeless powder cartridges.⁴ Yet, as Secretary Alger wrote in his book, "the governmental machinery was altogether inadequate to immediately meet the emergency."

President McKinley did not personally favor going to war, but he saw that war was increasingly likely. To strengthen his position in negotiations with Spain, he agreed to let Congressman Joseph G. Cannon insert an allotment for defense into the deficiency appropriation bill.⁵ On March 9, Congress voted "For the national defense, and for each and every purpose connected therewith, to be expended at the discretion of the President . . . fifty million dollars."⁶ The remarks in Congress of Representatives Joseph G. Cannon and Charles A. Boutelle show that complete freedom of judgment was meant to be given to the President.⁷

President McKinley, however, decided that none of the money scheduled for the War Department could be spent for offensive or defensive purposes. This tied Alger's hands, since it meant that his department could not purchase or contract for any of the items soon to be desperately needed. Explaining the unpreparedness of the staff departments under his control, Secretary Alger later wrote,

³Russell A. Alger, *The Spanish-American War*, 10 (New York, 1901).

⁴Letter to R. A. Alger in the Alger Papers in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor.

⁵Walter Millis, *The Martial Spirit*, 116 (New York, 1931).

⁶*U.S. Statutes at Large*, 30:273-274 (Washington, D. C., 1899).

⁷*Congressional Record*, volume 31, part 3, pages 2603-6 (55 Congress, 2 session) (Washington, D. C., 1898).

"Not one of these, under the President's interpretation of the term 'national defense' had been permitted to take a step outside the ordinary routine." The Army got \$16¼ million, which it spent to complete coast defenses.

There is no evidence that Alger took part in getting the fund or in trying to secure a more liberal interpretation. Had he been less of a do-nothing, he would have mentioned it. His proper course would have been to present his views forcefully and, then, if they were flatly rejected, to resign and make his reasons for doing so, public.

On April 23, there were but 22 experienced commissary officers, 57 quartermaster officers, and only 100 medical officers available for field duty. There were only 53,508 Krag-Jorgensen rifles. There was scarcely any smokeless powder ammunition, nor was any immediately obtainable. The supply bureaus had nothing for the troops included in the first call, or for the additional force of 249,000 men created by May 25.⁸ The War Investigating Commission, in a marvelous understatement, said that clothing supplies at the outbreak of the war were for the climates in which the troops had been serving.⁹ That is, men were outfitted for tropical warfare with the heavy uniforms suitable for campaigns against the Indians on the northern plains.

A generation of niggardly army appropriations was partially responsible for the shortages of supplies and manpower. The clerical force in the War Department had been reduced 28 per cent in 1894, because of the depression, and had never been increased afterwards.¹⁰ This slowed operations and the making of decisions in sleepy peacetime years. It was impossible for the Department adequately to measure up to wartime requirements for speed and flexibility in working and thinking.

From the above, it appears that nothing had been done to prepare the army for conducting tropical campaigns or for occupying conquered territory. Secretary Alger would appear in a better light were there evidence that he had foreseen some of the needs of the

⁸Alger, *The Spanish-American War*, 10-14.

⁹War Investigating Commission, 1:128.

¹⁰*Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1898. Report of the Secretary of War*, 12 (55 Congress, 3 session, House Document No. 2) (Washington, D. C., 1898).

War Department, that he had recognized the obligations that would devolve upon the army, and that he had tried to do something to anticipate them.

The Secretary faced the problems of procuring, or causing to be procured, capable officers and men in adequate numbers for the tasks facing the army.

In the spring of 1898, Congress rejected the Hull Bill (H.R. 9253) for the adequate reorganization of the army. This bill authorized the President to increase, in wartime, the strength of regular army regiments by adding to each a battalion to be called up from state forces. This would have insured larger regiments, and a more dependable replacement system than existed in the 1860's. Experienced regimental officers would have commanded the volunteers. Congressional debate suggests that opposition arose because governors of states did not want to lose the power to raise regiments and to commission the deserving party faithful as colonels. Most Congressmen were cogs in state political machines; the most able among them wanted to become governors. Although his military and political background equipped him to deal effectively with the political factors involved, there is no evidence that Governor Alger attempted to influence the bill's passage.

Officer procurement was severely criticized. For instance, the *Grand Rapids Democrat*, May 25, 1898, editorialized:

They [the people] will not believe that merit had much to do with the majority of the following incomplete list of such appointments: A son of Secretary Alger, a son of Representative Hull, a nephew of Senator Allison, a grandson of Ulysses S. Grant, a son of James G. Blaine, a son of John A. Logan, a son of Benjamin Harrison, a son of Senator Foraker, two sons of ex-Senator Brice, John Jacob Astor, William Astor Chanler, G. Creighton Webb, and Erskine Hewitt.

The *Democrat* did not criticize the Governor of Nebraska for making William Jennings Bryan a colonel, and did not object to the commissioning of two former Confederate generals, Joseph Wheeler and Fitzhugh Lee. On May 27, 1898, Alger wrote Chase Osborn, later a reform Governor of Michigan:

I have your letter of the 23d instant in behalf of Clifton G. Norton, who wants an appointment as second lieutenant. I regret that this will

not be possible. Michigan was to be assigned but one second lieutenant, and the Senators have designated him.¹¹

Officers of volunteer regiments were appointed by the state governors, although they could appoint one officer from the regular army for each regiment.¹² Yet, as the War Investigating Commission reported, the Secretary of War actively promoted such appointments of regular army officers, and he encouraged the commissioning of civilians who had received some formal military education or who had served in the Civil War.¹³ Alger, then, did not carry the patronage system to its most distasteful conclusion, but he certainly did not oppose it.

Some claimed that the obese General William R. Shafter's sole qualification to command in Cuba was his Michigan origin. Alger wrote, however, that Shafter had been appointed "upon the recommendation of the Major General Commanding the Army".¹⁴

According to the Inspector General, between thirty and seventy per cent of the State militia or National Guard regiments, from which the volunteers were called, were raw troops.¹⁵ Individual units differed widely with respect to the extent of the inadequacy of their supplies, rifles, uniforms, training, and ability of officers. As Alger summed it up, "Not a single regiment was fully ready for the field."

In April, Nelson A. Miles, Major General Commanding the Army, gave as his professional opinion that manpower needs would be satisfied by enlistment of 100,000 volunteers in addition to the regular army, which had by then been increased to 62,000. He "deemed it of the first importance to well equip such force rather than to partly equip a much larger number".¹⁶ The President proceeded to call for 125,000 volunteers, and then for 75,000 more. Such large calls meant that regular army officers could not be spared

¹¹Letter from R. A. Alger in the Chase Osborn Papers in the Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

¹²U.S. Statutes at Large, 30:361-62.

¹³War Investigating Commission, 1:114.

¹⁴Alger, *The Spanish-American War*, 35.

¹⁵*Annual Reports of the War Department for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1898. Report of the Major General Commanding the Army: Report of the Inspector General*, 572 (55 Congress, 3 session, House Document No. 2) (Washington, D. C., 1898).

¹⁶*Annual Reports of the War Department, 1898. Report of the Major General*, 5.

in sufficient numbers to indoctrinate volunteers in reception camps in the several states, as General Miles had recommended. Tens of thousands of men had to be concentrated in great camps, where illness could spread the more readily. And illness did spread, caused either by the lack of adequate food, clothing, and shelter, and the consequent irregularity of living conditions (according to General Miles), or by ignorance of principles of sanitation (this factor rather impressed the Inspector General).¹⁷ Of these men, 136,000 volunteers did not serve outside the United States.

In both the Civil War and the Spanish-American War, the first calls for volunteers were issued in April. By August 31, 1898, 274,717 men had somehow been received into Federal service. An equivalent total had not been reached until November of 1861. Alger's fault consisted of passively allowing the call of more men than could be handled by Federal authorities.

Nor did he make efforts to secure enactment of an adequate term of enlistment for the volunteers. Congress specified two years, or until "the conclusion of hostilities".¹⁸ As soon as the fighting was over, everybody wanted to be released. This made it difficult to occupy Cuba, Porto Rico and, particularly, the Philippine Islands promptly and with adequate forces. This seems to have contributed to the misunderstanding by Emilio Aguinaldo of our intentions towards the Philippines. Even in recent years, however, War Secretaries have been powerless to prevent dismantling of the military establishment once war has been won. Jeffersonian distrust of standing armies influenced some Congressmen, and Alger alone could not have overcome this tendency.

Secretary Alger was responsible for the management of the staff departments and of the army, although authority was in fact divided. The Major General Commanding the Army controlled all matters of military discipline and usually supervised directly the territorial departments (field commands), while the Secretary of War had generally the direct supervision of only the purely business aspects of the ten staff departments (those of the Adjutant General, the

¹⁷*Annual Reports of the War Department, 1898. Report of the Major General, 8.*

¹⁸*U.S. Statutes at Large, 30:361.*

Judge Advocate General, the Quartermaster and Subsistence Departments, and the like). Assignment to these departments was made on the basis of efficiency reports. Promotions of officers once assigned were made from within largely on seniority. This meant that they operated almost as self-contained, independent agencies. During his tenure, Secretary Alger made no basic structural or procedural change in these departments. It would have been better had the Major General Commanding the Army been used as a Chief of Staff for the entire army, reporting to the President and to his Secretary of War.

The Secretary inherited the traditional feud with the Major General. Alger needled Miles about the delays in the embarkation from Tampa, and rebuked him for wanting to leave Santiago to capture Porto Rico. Miles accused Alger of furnishing "embalmed beef" to the Army. Alger declared that precious transport space had been required to ship massive, unworkable "Miles shields" (portable, bulletproof shelters for infantrymen) to Cuba and back.

Theodore Roosevelt later explained the personnel problem which contributed to the relatively unfavorable showing of the army as compared to that of the navy:

A squadron of battleships at sea is necessarily maneuvered under service conditions, nearly 90 per cent of service conditions . . . but there was not a single brigade commander, let alone a division commander, in our Army, who had seen a brigade or taken part in marching a brigade under service conditions since the Civil War.¹⁹

Nor did the navy have to take care of ten-fold expansion in size.

It is true, the army had had combat experience fighting Indians. In so doing, it had necessarily been scattered into small units, at posts throughout the West. Now, it must be observed that the army had been capably organized for its unique purpose. It existed to pacify a frontier, not to fight the land army of a European power. General Miles ordered the regular army concentrated April 15, which was rather late.

During the decades of peace, the routine of the flow of paperwork in the War Department had become rigid. The clerical force

¹⁹Theodore Roosevelt, in "Proceedings of the Conference on Military History", *Annual Report of the American Historical Association, for the year 1912, 191-95* (Washington, D. C., 1914).

had been reduced 28 per cent in 1894. Promotions by seniority developed love of existing routine rather than willingness to try new methods. A well-intentioned, elderly officer tried to justify to Colonel Roosevelt equipping the "Rough Riders" with black powder cartridges by saying that the resulting clouds of smoke would hide the troops from the enemy. The War Investigating Commission said:

The routine work in the departments, in our opinion, is far beyond what is necessary, and each year seems to increase it. The methods employed make it almost impossible to transact business promptly.²⁰

The Inspector-General's Department could not be used effectively as a fact-finding agency which could promptly inform the Secretary of trouble spots so that he could act quickly and decisively. It had no independent authority to investigate. Field inspectors served on the staffs of field commanders. They were primarily responsible to the officers whose commands they inspected. Of himself, an inspector lacked power to inspect when and where he pleased. He was required to make his orders known to those he was directed to inspect.²¹ An able Secretary would have seen the advantages to be found in altering this to make investigations more useful to him, as a device for exerting direct control over the military establishment, and thus more productive of efficiency in the army. Be that as it may, the department was soon stripped of its experienced men to fill even greater needs for field commanders.

The war seems to have been conducted largely in the Secretary's spare time. From early in the morning until late evening, he was plagued by important people, by politicians, and by soldiers who sought commissions, appointments, discharges, or contracts; or who pressed claims or complaints. Visitors took almost his entire day.²² He ought to have made himself less accessible, to have delegated responsibility. At Montauk Point, Private James Holmes, after having been prevented by alert aides from seeing several generals, got his discharge papers signed by the Secretary of War himself, who evidently was accessible to anybody who happened along.²³ In his

²⁰*War Investigating Commission*, 1:113.

²¹*War Investigating Commission*, 1:121.

²²Alger, *The Spanish-American War*, 29-30.

²³Testimony of James Holmes, *War Investigating Commission*, 5:2342.

1898 report, Alger urged appointment of assistants to lighten the load, but it was sandwiched in between several routine recommendations.

The army expanded to ten times its peacetime size in a few weeks. There were few trained reserves, and few trained officers. Staff departments were undermanned and unduly fascinated by routine. In part, the problem was caused by long neglect. The army was being required to serve an entirely new purpose. It is to Secretary Alger's credit that the enlarged army was reasonably well-equipped and that its field operations were effective. But there was a grievous lack of foresight and an inability to make efficient use of the fossilized War Department bureaus. One must agree with the War Investigating Commission when it was obliged to conclude:

There was lacking in the general administration of the War Department during the continuance of the War with Spain that complete grasp of the situation which was essential to the highest efficiency and discipline of the Army.²⁴

In short, the Secretary was not running his job. It was running him.

Secretary Alger was responsible for housing the army and for having it transported to the places where it would be used. "No arrangements were made for movements of regiments by railroad for field duty previous to April 1."²⁵ Rates and accommodations had not been discussed with the railroads. In the United States, troops moved in day coaches wherever possible. In the Civil War, they had been moved in freight or cattle cars. One is reminded of the "forty and eight" cars of World War I. Even so, one thousand freight cars were at one time delayed on side tracks from Tampa all the way back to Columbia, South Carolina. Bills of lading not being regularly supplied, it was often necessary to unload an entire car loaded with quartermaster supplies to get at some desperately-needed medical stores.²⁶

Camps were hastily established, before adequate facilities for reception of troops could be installed, and then thronged with men.

²⁴*War Investigating Commission*, 1:116.

²⁵*War Investigating Commission*, 1:132.

²⁶*War Investigating Commission*, 1:133.

Some locations were so poor that it was charged that Secretary Alger himself had sold the sites, at great profit, to the government. Investigation disclosed that the land in question had never been owned by the Algiers, and had in fact been taken some years before by the state of Florida for nonpayment of taxes.²⁷

At Tampa, units were placed too far apart to operate together. A battery might be loaded onto one transport, and its ammunition onto another. Three regiments were assigned to the transport finally occupied by the Rough Riders. Tugs and lighters were insufficient, and most seemed to disappear before Cuba was reached. The Quartermaster Department accepted at face value estimates by shipowners that transports could easily carry 25,000 men. It was learned that they could carry only 16,000 men, and these at great discomfort and difficulty. The Secretary of War, for his part, could have first made it possible to reassign men readily; secondly, he could have made it plain that men who didn't prove themselves would be replaced ruthlessly; thirdly, he could have assured himself that the officers in question understood the nature of the problems that would come up; finally, he could have caused changes to be made when indicated. As it was, the War Investigating Commission, after review of all the testimony, flatly stated that the embarkation at Tampa showed "an almost inexcusable lack of executive ability."²⁸ As will be seen, efficient transport facilities could have prevented many medical problems. Part of the blame can be laid upon the factor of inexperience. Final responsibility must rest upon the man in charge.

Secretary Alger had to see to it that the army was supplied, fed, and otherwise properly cared for while it was going about its work. Complaints about conditions in the army began to reach the nation through letters from soldiers and from the public press. Some papers went after the Secretary mercilessly. For example, Champ Clark's newsletter in the *Grand Rapids Democrat* October 2, 1898, said in part, "Let it never be forgotten that the war on Alger is not just a Democratic war. It is a war for humanity." At Alger's request, the President appointed an investigating commission composed of distinguished and experienced men. It was headed by

²⁷*War Investigating Commission*, 1:213.

²⁸*War Investigating Commission*, 1:132.

General Grenville Dodge, who had commanded a corps at the Battle of Atlanta in 1864, had commanded the Department of Missouri, and had subsequently supervised the construction of the Union Pacific. The Secretary of War, the heads of the staff departments, and the Major General Commanding the Army appeared. All but the latter testified under oath. The commission invited everyone else with evidence to give, particularly those who had made the most bitter charges, to appear and be examined. Camp sanitation, hospital conditions, overcrowding on transports, shortages and spoiled food, and charges of criminal conduct were all examined. All the testimony was printed. The commission's conclusions were presented for the War Department as a whole and for each staff department individually. It might be noted that the War Investigating Commission stated that it could find no evidence of intentional neglect of duty or any attempt to serve personal interests.²⁹

Food aroused violent criticism. The subsistence department began the war, as we have seen, with but 22 officers. Even so, it appears that it did acquire sufficient supplies, and that such standards of meat inspection as were then customary were observed. Most complaints about food could be traced to unskilled handling of the ration. Only once, in the trenches before Santiago, did troops lack the statutory ration. The men had cast aside their knapsacks before going into combat. Cubans stole them. The soldiers were genuinely surprised that anyone would want to steal army rations. Transport conditions in the jungle delayed reissue.

General Nelson A. Miles returned from Porto Rico to shock the nation with his testimony about the supply of food to the soldiers:

There was sent to Porto Rico 327 tons of what is known as so-called refrigerated beef, which you might call "embalmed beef". . . . I do not think that beef such as was sent to Cuba or Porto Rico would be good in any country in the stomach of any man. . . . I do not know what may have been injected into it. . . . The understanding is that this is a secret process of preserving beef.³⁰

He cited numerous instances when unpalatable beef had been issued, when canned beef turned out to be largely gristle, or when

²⁹*War Investigating Commission*, 1:116.

³⁰Testimony of Nelson A. Miles, *War Investigating Commission*, 7:3256-58.

tropic heat had caused beef to spoil before it could be moved up to the troops.

He principally relied upon the words of a Doctor W. H. Daly, who had caused to be thrown overboard from a hospital ship some beef tasting like "decomposed boric acid," and who said he had found traces of chemical preservative in one sample of beef. Boric acid does not decompose. Daly had witnessed an experiment. A contractor had tried to interest the army in beef preserved by being wrapped in burlap. A sample was hung up on display for visitors to inspect. The army bought none of it. This was the sole instance of such a charge. The *New York World*, December 23, 1898, headlined its story, "Miles Makes Grave Charges Against the Administration • Poisons Used in Beef Made the Soldiers Ill • Tons of Bad Meat Sent to Troops in Porto Rico • These Charges, He Declares, Contain Only a Few of the Facts Which He Has Gathered". The phrase "embalmed beef" captured the national imagination and is still one of the things most likely to be remembered about the war.

The general manager for the Armour Packing Company and many others in the industry denied that chemical preservatives had been used.³¹ Numerous beef samples examined by Department of Agriculture chemists were found to be free of traces of commonly-used chemical preservatives.³² Contracts specified that beef was to remain fresh 72 hours after removal from ships' refrigerators, and some simply could not be issued to troops within that time. Some canned beef had an unpleasant taste; some spoiled because the cans were damaged; and some had an unpleasant appearance; but it wasn't generally bad.³³ At least the beef measured up to legal standards, the Commission found.

The Commissary General, Charles P. Eagan, appeared before the War Investigating Commission and furiously denied the charges made by General Miles.³⁴ In fact, his original testimony was so strongly worded that a courtmartial later convicted him of using

³¹Testimony of Wm. D. Miles, *War Investigating Commission*, 7:3561-63.

³²Reports of Analyses, *War Investigating Commission*, 2:853-62.

³³*War Investigating Commission*, 1:152, 162-68; also Testimony of Dr. W. O. Atwater, *War Investigating Commission*, 7:3548-59.

³⁴Testimony of C. P. Eagan, *War Investigating Commission*, 7:3564-99.

ungentlemanly language. In his autobiography, General Miles did not repeat his elaborate charges that beef had been chemically preserved.

The War Investigating Commission heard everyone who wanted to appear. It sat in several cities. In fact, it was so painstaking in its work that the Congressional elections passed before the final report was issued.

Services provided by the Medical Corps were inadequate. It had too few men at the outset of the war, adding 650 contract surgeons and 118 volunteer surgeons. It had supplies for a peacetime Army. General Shafter decided, as a military matter, to take more soldiers and fewer ambulances to Cuba.³⁵ There was repeated failure to land regimental medical chests. A hospital system had to be constructed out of nothing and put into operation overnight. Problems were complicated by camp sanitation and by the inadequate transportation of supplies. However, some antiadministration witnesses retracted when on oath and under cross-examination the stronger public statements they had made.³⁶ Alger's fault lay in his inactivity before the war broke out.

Regular army officers and men and Civil War veterans observed rules of sanitation. Volunteers disregarded detailed sanitary instructions sent out by the War Department. This difference between regulars and volunteers was particularly well illustrated in the testimony of an Episcopal chaplain, the Reverend Dwight Galloupe, a civilian appointed to a regular army regiment.³⁷ Where experienced officers firmly insisted on observance of sanitary regulations, even volunteer regiments were comparatively free of disease. The terrain of Camp Thomas, with nonporous soil only thinly covering bedrock, made maintenance of sanitary sinks particularly difficult, also.

Camp Wikoff at Montauk Point, Long Island, was selected for troops exposed to tropical diseases. Its remoteness from populous areas stilled public outcry. This very factor created transportation problems, and consequent supply failures. There seems to have

³⁵Alger, *The Spanish-American War*, 291.

³⁶For example, see the testimony of Ira J. Hains, *War Investigating Commission*, 4:876-82.

³⁷*War Investigating Commission*, 5:2332-39; also 1:112.

been real uncertainty about the causes and proper treatment of camp and tropical diseases. A surgeon, Major Park Myers, doubted that screens had much value.³⁸ The public did not understand the treatment of tropical diseases. Actually, the medical department did well to rise to the emergency as well as it did. Complaints in fact came from only 25 of the 250 regiments, batteries, and other separate organizations in the army.

Numerous instances of inefficiency were disclosed by the hearings. They had a variety of causes. As the *Detroit Free Press* put it in an editorial October 9, 1898:

Not a few instances of inefficiency, inexperience, indifference, carelessness, neglect, wasteful haste, and lack of foresight and precaution, needless deprivation and suffering have been disclosed, as the *Free Press* predicted. But the testimony of some of the bravest and most beloved commanders of the war have failed to establish a breakdown of army administration so complete and calamitous as to justify the wrathful whirlwind of denunciation and aspersion that seemingly swept away all sentiments of elation and gratitude over the triumphant termination of the struggle.

Our peaceful traditions, our unpreparedness for war, our impetuous congressmen, our party solicitude for the perpetuation of the spoils system, our too pliant and gracious president and secretary of war—these present too wide a range of responsibility for all that was amiss in army management to make it possible for the investigating committee to name all the culprits.

General Joseph Prentice Sanger testified:

I am willing to say that Congress is chiefly responsible for the bad administration of the army and its organization. They have often been appealed to to reconstruct the army on modern principles, and they have failed to do so.³⁹

Speaking primarily of the supply situation that Secretary Alger's Army faced, but in terms having general meaning, the War Investigating Commission itself concluded:

One of the lessons taught by the war is that the country should hereafter be in a better state of preparation for war.⁴⁰

The Secretary meant well. His chief problem was that the army grew one thousand per cent in a few weeks. The supply and staff

³⁸War Investigating Commission, 4:917-23.

³⁹War Investigating Commission, 4:1115.

⁴⁰War Investigating Commission, 1:114.

services were undermanned, and rusted after a third of a century of Congressional neglect. The best military minds had vegetated after decades of enforced inexperience with large-scale problems. Some supply problems even arose because volunteer officers did not know the army system of completing requisition forms. Had the Secretary of War been incompetent, as he has so often been pictured, the system would not have worked well at all. There would have been some sort of catastrophic breakdown.

General Sanger attributed much of the adverse public reaction to "a lack of appreciation of the necessary severities of the war". There was a deep-seated public suspicion of a standing army. It may well be that the nation has not fully learned the lessons of 1898 even today. Certainly, subsequent secretaries have been compelled to deal with the very same type of problem. To this extent, one must sympathize with Secretary Alger.

Secretary Alger, however, was certainly "pliant", indecisive, even ineffective. He might have seen what his department would soon have to do, and he might at least have tried to prepare it for its task. It hardly excuses him to reflect that it is remarkable that things weren't worse. He might have fought for what was needed, might have planned, and might have capably ridden herd on his Department.

Book Reviews and Notes

Schoolcraft's Expedition to Lake Itasca: The Discovery of the Source of the Mississippi. Edited by Philip P. Mason. (East Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1958. xxvi + 390 p. Preface, introduction, appendices, bibliography, and index. \$7.50.)

Professor Mason, himself an explorer of the history of a long-ago West, has made a worthy contribution with his editing of Schoolcraft's journey of 1832 which records the discovery of the true source of the mighty Mississippi River. In addition, the editor has brought together the papers and diaries of others who accompanied Schoolcraft. The result is an excellent and complete volume covering every significant aspect of one of the most dramatic expeditions into the Minnesota country.

Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, when he set out from Sault Ste Marie on June 7, 1832, was no novice in the wilderness nor did he subscribe to a popular stereotype which painted some trailblazers as dirty and mean and ignorant. Possessed of a good education, he had earned a reputation as a mineralogist and already was widely traveled in what then was commonly called "the interior of North America." Schoolcraft in 1820 had penetrated the Lake Superior country with the Lewis Cass expedition and, as the result, published his *Narrative Journal of Travels*. Two years later he began work as Indian agent in charge of the tribes of the Lake Superior region, the beginning of a life interest which was to culminate years later with the publication of the multivolumed *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*. Nor was the leader of the march to Lake Itasca untutored in politics, for he had served as a member of the Michigan territorial legislature and was instrumental in the founding of the State Historical Society of Michigan.

Schoolcraft's instructions of 1832 ordered him to curb hostilities between the Chippewa and the Sioux, to investigate conditions of the fur trade, to compile statistics of the tribes, and to vaccinate their members. Nothing explicit was said about finding the source of the Father of Waters, although such an objective was pledged in Schoolcraft's mind. He wrote to Cass, saying: "If I do not see the 'veritable source' of the Mississippi this time, it will not be from want of the intention." In the party were Dr. Douglass Houghton, physician and naturalist; the Rev. William Thurston Boutwell, graduate of the famous Andover Theological Seminary; and George Johnston, Schoolcraft's brother-in-law, who served as interpreter. Lieutenant James Allen commanded a ten-man military escort. In addition, there was a motley collection of engagés.

The party skirted the southern shore of Lake Superior, went ashore

near Fond du Lac, and entered the interior. Lac la Biche was reached on July 13. "The cheering sight of a transparent body of water burst upon our view," wrote Schoolcraft. "It was Itasca Lake — the source of the Mississippi." Thus ended a long search begun in Jefferson's administration.

Professor Mason, in addition to editing Schoolcraft's account which Harper & Brothers published in 1834, has placed the excursion in its proper setting, has commented upon the naming of the source lake, has included some material (Allen's journal, for example, and letters of members of the party) which has been printed before, and has printed for the first time the complete diaries of Dr. Houghton and Rev. Boutwell. Appended also are documents pertaining to the organization of the expedition. There are reprinted newspaper accounts of the trip, including a review of the *Narrative* in the *New York American*. Fortunately, the end papers take the form of an adequate map, but unfortunately the title page of the *Narrative* is not reproduced.

One further comment is necessary: Actually, Professor Mason's present volume is the third pertaining to Schoolcraft which the Michigan State College Press has published. This reviewer had the pleasure of commenting upon Mentor L. Williams, *Schoolcraft's Narrative Journal of Travels* in 1954 and upon his *Schoolcraft's Indian Legends* in 1956. The three items, taken together, form a somewhat more distinguished contribution to both Schoolcraft and exploration than some may realize. It is gracious of Professor Mason to dedicate his volume to Mentor L. Williams, who edited the two earlier books. And the Press itself deserves congratulations for its sustained and scholarly interest in Schoolcraft.

University of Minnesota

PHILIP D. JORDAN

Pioneer School. By Lela Duff. (The Ann Arbor Board of Education, 1958. ii, 69 p.)

This seventy-two page pamphlet is a real contribution to local history. The excellence of it is due to the author; the faults are due to circumstances beyond her control.

It is informal in tone and imaginatively written. That makes it good reading. It satisfies the professional historian's requirements both as to accuracy and technique. This might seem a strange statement when one considers that there are no footnotes in the article at all. Instead, there is a statement on page i that the documentation has been deposited in the Michigan Historical Collections in the Rackham Building at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, where "it will be freely available." I felt it my duty to make a trip there to check this point, and the documentation was promptly produced.

On page 66 the author lists the subjects she might have treated but did not. They are lengthy. Why didn't the author deal with them? The excuse for the noninclusion of footnotes is that the author believed that "extensive documentation is often more of a nuisance than a help to the general reader," and so left them out. There is no statement at all as to why the author stopped her work at the time she did when she had just made an excellent beginning.

Anyone working in local history will well be able to supply the reason: the extreme difficulty of getting anything published in local history. It is a sad fact that a learned work dealing with some abstruse subject, such as the study of a long dead ancient language which interests perhaps a mere score of scholars throughout the world, will have little trouble in getting published by our university presses. Works on already pretty well mined-out subjects in European history or American national history will also have little trouble. But come to our own times and our own locality, that is a different story. The local historian knows he is working in a field that has acquired no prestige. His work is a labor of love, for he will have great difficulty getting anything published. One of our two major universities in the state did, for a time, publish materials concerning the history of the people from whom it draws its income; the other great one will not condescend to such things at all. So it is no wonder that the author stopped short under these discouraging circumstances. When she couldn't get five pages of footnotes published, which would have made not more than two pages of text, it is not difficult to see how it would have been impossible to get anything published at all had it been longer, more detailed, and really complete. It reminds one of that list of "society sinners who'd really not be missed" that appeared originally in [William S.] Gilbert's *Bab Ballads* and went eventually into the *Mikado*:

The idiot who praises, with enthusiastic tone,
All centuries but this and every country but his own.

The actual history of the school runs from page 1 to 36, and covers the period to about the end of World War I. From page 37 to 64 there is a section entitled "Album of Teachers" which will delight anyone who knew the teachers, and will be of general interest as well. The essential informality of this pamphlet is indicated by the two-page postscript and the inclusion of a letter that reached the author too late to be incorporated in the text.

This is supposed to be a book review and not an occasion for reminiscing, but I cannot refrain from a few personal comments. The great fire of 1904, described so graphically in the pamphlet, was still a living memory when I was a page and messenger in the Ann Arbor Public Library from 1925 to 1927. I handled those books that had been carried out of the burning building and heard about the experiences from those who participated in it and witnessed it. Louis P. Jocelyn said that when

the fire department got there, they sprinkled a few drops of water on the building, enough to make it burn all the brighter! The wonder is that the firemen were able to keep the whole of the northeastern part of Ann Arbor from burning down.

Mr. Judson G. Pattengill and Mr. Horatio N. Chute were just vivid memories when I was in high school: Miss Alice Porter had retired but came back to a Latin class as a substitute once or twice, which gave me the privilege of experiencing her thorough drill methods; Miss Gertrude T. Breed was still teaching and also substituted a few times in the Latin course I was taking; Levi D. Wines, Mr. Jocelyn, Miss Mary Ella Bennett, and Miss Sara G. O'Brien were teaching at the time I was there, and I knew them well, but somehow or other I never had the opportunity of taking a course from them. The only one of these teachers I actually had was Miss Cora A. Robison. I confirm Miss Duff's evaluation of all of them with the exception of one whose classes could be intensely dull at times.

I would like also to confirm most heartily Miss Duff's evaluation on page 65 of the three great session-room teachers. All three were really great teachers and noble women. Ann Arbor High School when I was there from 1924 to 1928 contained a top-flight teaching staff.

Let me exhort you, Miss Duff, to bring your history down to date; please continue by taking up, one by one, the subjects you outlined for further treatment. If you can't get this monumental work published, you can deposit it in the Michigan Historical Collections for future reference in the sure knowledge that sometime someone will appreciate it.

Bay City Junior College

LOUIS DOLL

The Kalamazoo College Story. By Arnold Mulder. (Chicago, Donnelly Press, 1958. 185 p. Illustrations, Roster of Faculty and Trustees, Index. \$3.00.)

The Kalamazoo College Story is the last important writing by Dr. Arnold Mulder who died in March, 1959. It is the story of a liberal arts college told by one who knew the college intimately and who for twenty-five years was a member of the faculty. It is accurate history but it reads like a story book. All friends of the liberal arts tradition will profit from it.

In one brief chapter, the writer takes a calm and dispassionate look at the first century of the oldest college in Michigan, having been chartered by the Territorial Legislature April 23, 1833. Since the history of the first hundred years had been well done for the centennial of 1933, Dr. Mulder gives his attention to the first twenty-five years of the second century. This is the story he knew best because he was a

part of it and was an actor in the drama. The college, having survived all the perils common to pioneer colleges, had by 1933 taken an important place in higher education. Under the leadership of President Allan Hoben, it had become a real "Fellowship of Learning." The writer concludes that having done her work well in the first century, she was deserving of a second. He says "The College was now old enough to review the past with objective self-analysis and to face the future with sober reflection." So the story begins with the death of President Hoben. The first era was closed. The second era opens.

In the life of every college there have been unfortunate incidents which at the moment of their occurrence loom large and seem to darken the whole academic sky. Kalamazoo College experienced a number of such episodes. How would the author deal with these? He deals with them candidly but fairly and with characteristic good taste. You are forced to agree with his contention that while important and disturbing at the moment, they were of small consequence in the total picture.

Three presidents served the college from 1936 to 1952. This may be a commentary on the liabilities of the office. But all of them left their mark and made some contribution to the progress of the college. The story is told in chapters on Curriculum, Students and Teachers, Campus Attitudes, Spiritual Life, The College in War Time, Athletics, Music, etc. Although the same things could be said of many of the better liberal arts colleges in the country, they are said modestly and with good taste and charm. Dr. Mulder gives considerable space to the place which the college occupies in the field of science education. Here she has a foremost place among the colleges. But the point is made, that all this was accomplished without weakening the liberal arts tradition. This is witnessed by the fact that the college abolished the B.S. degree in 1926 and that since that time all graduates receive the B.A. degree. Dr. Mulder suggests that "it was not a case of science displacing the arts, rather one of impregnating the traditional disciplines with new vigor derived from the life of the new age."

The author dwells a great deal on the place which the college holds in service to the city and in the affection of the community. He describes the cordial relations which existed between the smaller college and the larger and burgeoning state college on the other side of the street. He is appreciative of the way the community has responded to the financial needs of the college. As examples, he cites the annual fund and the 125th anniversary development program. The former was initiated in 1941 in the Thompson regime. It is now a regular yearly feature in the financial program of the college. More than fifty thousand dollars is raised each year in the community for the immediate needs of the college. The second program was launched in 1951 and was intended to raise \$1,500,000 for the principal needs of the college. This campaign has been successful. One third of it was contributed

by the community. On the cultural and academic side, there is similar evidence of service rendered by the college to the community and the resultant community appreciation and response. In this connection, the author describes the Bach Festival which has become a yearly event since 1947. The Bureau of Municipal Research has been supported jointly by the college and the city since 1934. There is the Stowe tennis stadium which is the property of the college but has been built and is maintained by the friends of the college. These superb tennis facilities have made Kalamazoo College a mecca for tennis players in the summer. The writer makes it clear that Kalamazoo College is not only a superior college but that it has always taken a keen interest in gearing the program to community needs.

In 1953, a new president, Dr. Weimer Hicks, took the reins of administration. He was the right man for the right moment. Dr. Mulder says "the Campus climate was favorable for a forward push all along the line." It was a good omen that on the day Dr. Hicks took office, news came to the college of a legacy in the amount of \$1,237,000, for the endowment fund. So it is not surprising that the author concludes the story with a chapter entitled "Future Tense." Dr. Mulder expects that the college will maintain its nonfraternity status; that the scholastic atmosphere will continue to be marked by intellectual honesty; that it will remain liberal and never out of bounds for students with intellectual integrity.

This is the story of a first class liberal arts college; but it also is a story of the worth of the liberal tradition. Alumni of all liberal arts colleges will find satisfaction in reading the story—the story of producing liberally educated men and women for this age.

Western Michigan University

WYNAND WICHERS

Historian's Handbook. A Key to the Study and Writing of History.
By Wood Gray and others. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company,
1959. iv, 60 p. \$1.00.)

Wood Gray of the George Washington University has compressed into 64 pages the material of what he terms a "five hundred page book." After considering "What is History", he discusses the six steps of research: "choice of topic, pursuit of evidence, note taking, criticism, construction, and communication." A list of symbols commonly used in proofreading completes the outside of the back cover. Nearly every book and magazine has an individual style but if the suggestions found in this *Historian's Handbook* are followed it will be a simple matter to transpose to suit the format of the publishing medium. A would-be author could study this book to advantage, and an arrived author will find it interesting and refreshing.

Michigan in the Civil War, the fourth in a series of historical filmstrips, is now available for adult audiences and for use in schools.

The film is the result of cooperative action by the Michigan Historical Commission, the University of Michigan Audio-Visual Education Center, and Wayne State University.

The other filmstrips are: *Lumbering Era in Michigan (1860-1900)*, *History of Great Lakes Transportation*, and *Iron Ore Mining Industry*.

The filmstrips and manuals can be secured directly from the University of Michigan Audio-Visual Education Center, 720 East Huron Street, Ann Arbor, at a cost of \$3.00.

The manuals have been prepared by Dr. Philip P. Mason, Wayne State University archivist, through funds provided by the Munson Michigan History Fund under direction of the Michigan Historical Commission.

The Family of Hessel O. Yntema, a Frisian Immigrant to Michigan, 1847. By Mary S. Yntema. 1958. (Holland, Klaasen Printing Company, 72 p.)

The author of this little book spent some twenty years gathering data for it in both Europe and America. The result is a thoroughly documented genealogical record of a Michigan Holland-American family that, on the face of the facts, is out of the ordinary, to state it modestly.

Along with the 1847 Van Raalte migration from The Netherlands to Michigan came Hessel O. Yntema and Klaaske Van Der Kooi Yntema. The present booklet is a completely objective record of their descendants in this state. The names of all the children, together with dates and other necessary genealogical data, are listed. The genealogies of the three sons "who grew to maturity and had children" are followed up to the present time.

While in the main the descendants of all three were leaders in their Michigan communities, among them a city mayor, a county supervisor, a doctor, a professor, the family tree of the youngest son is impressive enough to be regarded as highly unusual. The author is careful not to call attention to this; it is purely an inference from sober listings, after the manner of scientifically constructed family tree charts.

The father of this third generation family, Douwe Bauke Yntema, served as head of the physics department at Hope College, Holland, for many years. Of his children, one was a Rhodes Scholar and later won distinction in the field of law; another is on the staff of the Institute of Research at Stanford University; the only girl in the family served for years as a Latin and Mathematics teacher in a Grand Rapids high school; a third son is Vice President-Finance of the Ford Motor Company; a fourth is Head of the Department of Economics and Business

Administration at Hope College, where his father once taught; and finally, a fifth son serves as Professor of Anatomy, Medical School, State University of New York.

In addition to a wealth of carefully listed genealogical data the booklet contains pictures of the pioneer grandparents and of their three sons: Otto H. Yntema, Sjoerd Yntema, and Douwe Bauke Yntema. It should serve as valuable material for future writers of the details of Michigan history.

Kalamazoo College

ARNOLD MULDER

A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner During Thirty Years Residence Among the Indians in the Interior of North America. By Edwin James. (Minneapolis, Minnesota, Ross Haines Inc., 1956. 427 p. \$8.75.)

Ross Haines, Inc. of Minneapolis has added another outstanding book to its Mid-America series with the reprinting of Edwin James' *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner During Thirty Years Residence Among the Indians in the Interior of North America*. Other titles in the distinguished series include Johann Kohl's *Kitchi-Gami*, Jonathan Carver's *Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America*, William Warren's *History of the Ojibway Nation*, and Alexander Ross' *The Red River Settlement*.

The original narrative of Tanner's captivity was written by Edwin James and published by G. & C. & H. Carvill in 1830. Dr. James, a military surgeon at Sault Ste Marie and a student of Indian history, persuaded Tanner to tell the story of his long captivity among the Indians of the western Lake Superior country. The book was popular when it appeared, and during the subsequent century it has become a classic Indian narrative, not so much for its account of adventure and violence as for its penetrating observations of Indian life and customs.

Tanner was only about nine years old in 1789 when he was captured by Shawnee Indians from his Kentucky home on the Ohio River. He was taken first to Detroit and then to the Saginaw area. After spending two years in constant fear for his life at the hands of his brutal captors, he was sold to a woman chief of the Ottawas to replace a son who had died. She took him to her village near Michilimackinac where they lived for some time before they moved to the Red River country west of Lake Superior to live among her relatives. It was here in a desolate wilderness hundreds of miles from the frontier settlements that John Tanner lived for more than twenty-five years.

He soon forgot the ways of white civilization and even his language; in short, he became more Indian than white. Despite his love for the

rugged outdoor life and his prowess as a hunter, his lot was not easy. He had not only himself to provide for and to protect, but an Indian wife and several children and, not infrequently, a "flock of relatives" as well. They were on the verge of starvation many times, and Tanner barely escaped death from disease and wounds inflicted during fights.

About 1817, with the help of Lord Selkirk, founder of the famous Red River settlement, and Lewis Cass, Governor of the Michigan Territory, Tanner returned to Kentucky to locate his relatives. He was warmly received by his brothers and sisters, but he found it impossible to adjust to their way of life. After an unsuccessful attempt to get his Indian wife and family to join him, Tanner took a job as Indian interpreter at Mackinac Island and later at Sault Ste Marie. His stormy career came to an end in 1846 when he disappeared suddenly after the brutal murder of James L. Schoolcraft. He was openly blamed for the crime at the time, but Tanner's part in the episode and his later whereabouts have always remained a mystery.

This book is valuable for the account of Tanner's life up to 1830, but even more for its first-hand description of life among the Indians of the Lake Superior region. The period of his captivity was a critical one for the vanishing tribes of the Chippewas and Ottawas. By 1800 these tribes were almost entirely dependent upon the fur trade for the essentials of life. Game was scarce, starvation widespread, and the use of liquor in the trade was impoverishing the Indian. Moreover, the vicious rivalry between the Chippewas and the Sioux was erupting along the Minnesota frontier and further complicating their plight. Tanner recognized the Indian's position and described it with great insight and compassion. The Tanner narrative contains, also, accounts of various Indian customs and practices; the treachery and power of the medicine men and Indian "prophets"; gambling, suicide, homosexuality, picture writing, marriage practices, and ceremonial feasts. It presents, also, accounts of raids against the Sioux. Unfortunately, Tanner lost all track of time and many of the important incidents described are undated.

Noel Loomis has written a brief introduction to the Tanner reprint containing a sketch of Tanner's life and a discussion of the Schoolcraft murder. It is unfortunate that the volume was not critically edited, but it still remains a classic book on western Americana and Indian history.

Wayne State University

PHILIP P. MASON

Michigan State Library began a new quarterly, *Michigan in Books*, with the Summer, 1958, No. 1 issue. The aim of the publishers, as stated, is that the quarterly will be "a clearing house for Michigan book news," and "will include new books and audio-visual material, biographies of men and women making the Michigan story, news of

gifts, and a list of Michigan periodicals." *Michigan in Books* is free upon request to the Michigan State Library, Lansing.

The first issue listed materials relative to the Mackinac bridge and the Straits area. The Autumn number was titled "Michigan's Exploding Cities," and contained material relative to Governor Williams' 36-member study commission on metropolitan problems, and also recent publications in the field of government, social studies, education, and local history.

Historic Churches of the United States. By Robert C. Broderick. (New York, Wilfred Funk, Inc., 1958. xxv, 262 p. Illustrations and index. \$3.95.)

In this attractive and lavishly illustrated book, Mr. Broderick, who has written much in the field of religion, has attempted to pick out the most historic churches in America from the earliest times to the present. The six chapters of the book are titled: "Churches in Early American History," "Mission Churches Across the Land," "Some First Churches," "Churches Across the Country," "Some Cathedrals and Temples," and "Modern Churches." This is followed by an appendix in which the author lists by states the important churches in each, some of which he treats in his text but most of which, because of space limitations he can do no more than list.

Any such selection is bound to raise questions as to why certain churches were included and others excluded. In an effort to avoid as much of this controversy as he could, the author sought the advice of historical agencies throughout the country in preparing his list. Since the present reviewer was one of those whom Mr. Broderick consulted in Michigan he can not very well object to the churches that are listed from this state. Nine churches are included in the list for Michigan. Although all of these are worthy of inclusion, this reviewer regrets that he limited himself to the minimum of three outstanding churches which were asked for in Mr. Broderick's questionnaire. Incidentally, the author's reference to Detroit's St. Paul's Episcopal Church as the "first Episcopal church in the state" is misleading since the present church structure is not the one that was built in 1828. Tecumseh's beautiful St. Peter's Episcopal Church, which should have been included in the list, is apparently the oldest surviving Episcopal church in Michigan, the cornerstone having been laid in 1833.

It is also surprising that Mr. Broderick, in his discussion of modern churches and church architects, does not mention the work of Alden B. Dow of Midland, although he does discuss Eliel Saarinen of Bloomfield Hills. However, such criticisms can be made of any work such as this, which claims only to be a survey and does not pretend to be

encyclopaedic in scope. As it is, *Historic Churches of the United States* should prove to be a most useful book to those who wish to know more of and to see the church buildings in which America's religious history has been made.

Michigan Historical Commission

GEORGE S. MAY

Farms or Forests: Evolution of a State Land Policy for Northern Wisconsin, 1850-1932. By Vernon Carstensen. (Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1958. Illustrations, charts, tables.)

This study is a meticulously documented account of the events and people involved in a stormy trial and error approach to a land-use policy now rather generally accepted in the northern cutover regions.

Personalities, prejudice, and politics all enter into the picture, and the author has the rare ability to make the struggle realistic, even though this is factual writing, not fiction.

The stage is set by the question, "Will the plow follow the axe?"

The plow did just that in much of southern Wisconsin, but the question in debate was whether or not the same thing could and should happen in the northern counties. In the narrative, suggestions come out which are exceedingly interesting. One idea presented in 1867 might well have been the germ from which developed the concept of "full utilization" in logging hardwoods selectively today. The resort business and the expenditures of sportsmen in the northern counties was mentioned as significant in 1897. The relationships between forests and climate, water infiltration and run-off were fought back and forth. Since experimentation had not gone far in that period, many claims were based upon insufficient data or no data whatever, but nevertheless were stubbornly supported.

The advocates of forests and farms for the northern counties battled without letup until in 1915 the Supreme Court of Wisconsin declared the constitutional amendment upon which the forestry laws were based invalid. Then followed investigations which showed some legislatures of the past to have been careless and inept in their procedures. However, the forestry legislation was not reinstated.

Next followed an unplanned occupation of the northern areas by loggers and farmers. By the early 1920's it was evident that all was not well. People, townships, and counties were near bankruptcy. Tax sales found few buyers. National forest land purchase was welcomed, and it was finally beginning to be acknowledged that the growing of trees presented the best utilization of much of the land of the north. An amendment to the constitution permitting the use of funds for forestry was passed by the legislature and approved by the electorate in

1924. In 1925, the 17 northern counties had less than 1½ million acres of saw timber left, and only 6 per cent was in cultivated farm crops.

To meet the need for special taxation of forest lands to encourage the growth of timber and lessen tax delinquency, a constitutional amendment was approved by the people in April, 1927. The forest crop law followed. County forests were legalized the same year, since in Wisconsin tax delinquent forest lands revert to the counties. The college of agriculture of the University of Wisconsin took a leading role in bringing about the land-use reforms.

As the problem became better understood by all concerned the need for rural zoning became more and more apparent, and the legislature passed an enabling act which was approved by the governor August 3, 1929. Locally the idea that the community had the right to exercise control over the use to which rural lands were put was gaining general acceptance. In 1933, Oneida County, originally the hotbed of opposition to early forestry legislation, became the first county in the United States to adopt a rural zoning act.

This book is "must" reading for persons in Michigan and other states who are still waging the fight for better land-use, for the need for effective rural zoning is still with us.

Northern Michigan College of Education LYNN H. HALVERSON

Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver. By Thomas Richard Ross. (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1958. 366 p. Illustrations, index.)

Professor Thomas Ross's biography of Jonathan Prentiss Dolliver is a sympathetic study of a man whose very personality and character encourage such generous treatment. Dolliver was an honest, high-principled, able public servant, possessing a warm-hearted, kindly temperament and a ready wit. He was one of the greatest orators of his time and a leader in Iowa politics and in national affairs for over twenty years.

Beginning with Dolliver's family background and early years which were spent in a happy West Virginia home presided over by his beloved Methodist clergyman father, Professor Ross traces Dolliver's life in a general chronological sequence of events to his untimely death in 1910 when he was only fifty two. The book deals almost entirely with the public phase of Dolliver's career: his political campaigns, his speaking tours, and his more than twenty years of service as a U. S. Representative and Senator. In view of Dolliver's engaging personality, it is regrettable that there is not a more extensive discussion of his personal life.

Dolliver's interest in politics began early and his rise to prominence was rapid. He moved to Iowa when he was twenty and within seven

years was a political figure of note not only in his adopted state but in the nation. His rapid success was facilitated by his great oratorical ability which carried him from one triumph to another and made him a well-known figure to Chautauqua crowds across the nation. Michigan, for example, sampled the famous speaker's talent in 1899 when Dolliver delivered a strong imperialist speech before a University of Michigan audience.

Dolliver's career has not been presented in a historical vacuum, but Professor Ross has competently portrayed his activities against the background of Iowa politics and the main currents of American history of the period. The silver question, the rise of imperialism, the tariff controversies, the numerous state and national political campaigns, all matters of great concern to the Iowa statesman, are woven into the story of Dolliver's public life.

Professor Ross makes clear that Dolliver was certainly not a great innovator of reform and that he was relatively late in allying himself with the Progressive movement. In fact he did not support many of the key Progressive legislative reforms such as the initiative, referendum, and recall. Instead he sought social reform through a religious regeneration of the individual citizen—a solution the author himself tends to accept somewhat uncritically.

Dolliver did not emerge as a Progressive leader until the railroad regulation fight waged during Theodore Roosevelt's second term. Professor Ross rightly establishes Dolliver as the principal architect (Roosevelt excepted) of the resulting Hepburn Act—"Dolliver's greatest contribution to the success of Roosevelt's administration and the outstanding achievement of his own congressional career. . . ." By the time of the great debate on the Payne-Aldrich tariff in the Taft administration, Dolliver was one of the most important and effective leaders of the insurgents in the Senate.

Occasionally the author slips into the use of an unfortunate phrase; for example, he refers to Roosevelt's tariff policy as "cowardly" while placing no such intemperate and probably unfair label on Dolliver, who supported the President in this instance.

The book is amply documented. Besides the Dolliver papers, the author has examined the papers of many of the important figures in Iowa politics of the period as well as those of several national political leaders. A substantial number of secondary works and newspapers have been used to round out the study. Except for a rare error in quotation (for example, Roosevelt's statement on p. 212) these materials have been carefully and effectively used. Despite minor shortcomings this is an interesting, well-written biography of a significant figure in American political history.

Michigan Historical Collections
University of Michigan

ROBERT M. WARNER

Politics In Wisconsin. By Leon D. Epstein. (Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1958. xiv, 218 p. Illustrations, maps, appendices, notes, index. \$3.50.)

Politics In Wisconsin is must reading for the student of politics. Written by an expert in state and comparative, particularly British, politics, whose expressed object is to contribute to "the systematic accumulation of knowledge in the field," this book tells us almost as much generally about two-party politics in a democracy as it does specifically about the characteristics of Wisconsin's politics. Prof. Epstein throws light on the nature and consequences of traditional one-party majorities in a two-party framework, particularly where the traditional majority party faces the challenge of a new opposition.

Rigorously eschewing political narrative, with its anecdotal opportunities to account, for example, for the electoral success of McCarthy in the seedbed of LaFollette progressivism, Epstein devotes himself to framing certain hypothetical statements concerning Wisconsin politics, and then testing them against the record of the postwar years through the special United States Senatorial election of 1957. In developing these hypotheses, many of which were suggested to him in the pioneering studies of V. O. Key, Jr., Epstein has consciously worked from a model of a stable, responsible two-party system.

Not only the hypotheses themselves, but also the imaginative quantitative methods devised to test their validity, constitute significant contributions to the comparative study of state politics. Beyond statistical data derived from election returns and census publications, research methods include standardized interviews, mail questionnaires, observation of political meetings, and informal talks with political participants.

Epstein finds that Wisconsin politics at the beginning of the postwar decade, following the demise of the Progressive party, were characterized by solid Republican majorities. By the end of the decade, he concludes, Wisconsin was moving rapidly in the direction of his two-party (Republican-Democratic) model. Incidentally, this judgment was fully vindicated in the 1958 election, which occurred after *Politics In Wisconsin* was published.

He carefully disavows any a priori claim for the universality of his findings. Yet many of them are intriguing to the Michigan reader. Epstein demonstrates that the Republican party has been strongest in medium-sized (10,000-50,000) and small (below 10,000) cities and villages while the Democrats have had the bulk of their support from metropolitan Milwaukee County and other urbanized areas and cities over 50,000. Interestingly, farm voting, more than voting in any other size-of-place category, fluctuated radically from one party to the other.

Especially significant findings related to Wisconsin's party activism

include the following: "Generally, large and highly organized memberships are found in urban and suburban middle-class communities. Orientation mainly to national and state politics is indicated by party officers. Policy differences between the state's parties have been fairly sharp." Democratic leadership is dominated "by a New Deal-Fair Deal generation recruited in the postwar years," while the Republicans have "two separate generations . . . , prewar and postwar." ". . . there is at least for state-wide offices a significant degree of Republican organizational activity in selecting candidates, and some tendency for similar Democratic activity to develop."

Other findings concern such subjects as the social, political, and educational background of state legislators, the part played by the parties in nominating and electing them, the advantages and disadvantages of the Wisconsin open primary, and the differences between urban and rural political practices.

The reader of this carefully reasoned and documented book will find his effort repaid many times over.

University of Michigan

LYNN W. ELEY

The Daniel V. McEachern Story: Saga of a Seattle Scot. By Dr. E. C. Nance. (The College Press, College Place, Washington, 1958. 246 p. Illustrations, index.)

Written by a former president of the University of Tampa, this rambling and highly eulogistic biography of an important figure in the heavy construction industry of the Pacific Northwest will no doubt please its subject. The peculiar way in which it has been written, however, is such as to make it more a report on the research techniques of the author than a study of McEachern.

Since McEachern was born in Dwight Township, Huron County, Michigan, in 1879, Dr. Nance devotes twenty-one pages to a variety of information about the Thumb area, although the McEachern family apparently lived in Huron County only a few months before moving on to North Dakota. Included in this chapter is a letter from Mrs. Anne Levitt, secretary of Mr. Simo Pynnonen, St. Clair County Agricultural Agent, which contains some interesting material relating to the agricultural history of the area, including extracts for the years 1873 to 1881 from the farm account book of Daniel Mooney, which were furnished by his granddaughter, Mrs. Irene Hitchings of Port Huron. Although the information in this chapter has little or nothing to do with the life of Daniel V. McEachern, students of the history of the Thumb area will be grateful to Dr. Nance for publishing it.

Michigan Historical Commission

GEORGE S. MAY

Handbook for the Study and Teaching of Michigan History to accompany "Michigan Yesterday and Today." By Ferris E. Lewis, 1958. (Hillsdale School Supply, Inc., 171 p. Maps. \$2.50.)

Mr. Lewis reports that this handbook is the result of many years of research work in response to his own needs and the demands from teachers all over the state for usable material that would help in the teaching of Michigan history. Suggestions are offered to teachers from which may be selected those parts that best fit into their class needs. It contains map work and chapter review suggestions. No pupil or class would be expected to complete all the references. It is recommended for students not lower than the high school level. Teachers of Michigan history will find it a helpful and usable tool in the classroom.

The Fall 1958 *Bulletin* of the Delta Kappa Gamma, among its many interesting articles on education, has one on "Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, Michigan Pioneer in Education for Women" by Bessie Jane Reed of Kalamazoo, who retired in 1954 after more than thirty years as high school librarian and teacher of library science.

Contributors

Dr. Arnold Mulder was a member of the Kalamazoo College faculty for twenty-four years, from 1929 to 1953. Before, during, and since that period he has contributed articles to many magazines, conducted a column, "Library Adventures" in eight Michigan newspapers and completed four novels. His *The Kalamazoo College Story* is reviewed in this issue. He died in March, 1959.

Dr. Frederick D. Williams, whose special field of interest is the American Civil War and Reconstruction, has been since 1954 an assistant professor in history at Michigan State University. His introduction to and editing of the Civil War Diary of David Allen Richards appeared in the June, 1955 issue of *Michigan History*.

Dr. Stanley Pargellis, director of the Newberry Library in Chicago, spoke before a meeting of the Detroit Historical Society in 1948 in commemoration of the 150th anniversary of Father Gabriel Richard's arrival in Detroit. The present account was given by Dr. Pargellis at the dedication of the Richard mural in the new Greyhound Bus Station in Detroit on December 15, 1958.

Donald R. Brown, reference assistant in the history and travel department of the Detroit Public Library, received the A.B. degree from Ursinus College, Pennsylvania, in 1952; the M.A. degree in history from the University of Illinois in 1954; and the M.S. degree in library science from the University of Wisconsin in 1957.

Newman Jeffrey, Detroit auto worker, received his B.A. from Kansas University in 1932. On leave of absence from the International staff of the United Auto Workers, A.F.L.-C.I.O., Mr. Jeffrey is doing graduate work in history at Wayne State University.

Darrell H. Pollard received his undergraduate work at Albion College and his graduate work at the University of Michigan under Dr. Lewis G. Vander Velde. His article, "Michigan Oil and the New Deal," was presented at the 84th annual meeting of the Historical Society of Michigan on October 17, 1958, in Lansing.

Jasper B. Reid, Jr. is a graduate of the University of Michigan. After spending several years in business he has returned to the University to do further work in history.

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The Historical Society of Michigan is an organization maintained and managed by Michigan citizens who are interested in the history of their state. It includes teachers, business men, professional people, and others who write history, study history, or just enjoy reading history. Its purpose is to encourage historical research and publication and to foster local historical societies throughout the state. Membership dues to individuals, libraries, and institutions are \$5.00 per year. *Michigan History* is sent to each member.

The Michigan Historical Commission is an official state body, consisting of six members appointed by the Governor. It was first established by an act of the legislature in 1913. The Commission is custodian of the state's archives; it compiles, edits, and publishes Michigan materials; and seeks to cultivate, through the Historical Society of Michigan and other groups, a continuing interest in the history of Michigan from the early times to the present.

Michigan History is a quarterly journal containing articles by qualified writers on Michigan subjects, reviews of books related to Michigan and its past, and news of historical activities in the state. Contributions are invited. Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor, Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing 13, Michigan.

The Commission maintains at Lansing the Michigan Historical Museum, a rich storehouse of artifacts and documents related to the history of the state.

Among the activities of the Commission and the Society are the following: an annual meeting is held each year in the fall, at which tours and talks on Michigania are enjoyed; books and pamphlets are published from time to time; a conference on the teaching of Michigan materials is held annually; historical celebrations are encouraged in various parts of the state; a program of marking historical places is sponsored; guidance is provided to local governmental and state agencies on the destruction of useless records and the preservation of records having historical value.

